THE LIFE

Of the Learned

Sir *THOMAS SMITH* Kt.

Doctor of the CIVIL LAW;

Principal SECRETARY of STATE to King *EDWARD* the Sixth, and Queen *ELIZABETH*.

WHEREIN

Are discovered many Singular Matters relating to the State of Learning, the Reformation of Religion, and the Transactions of the Kingdom, during his Time. In all which he had a great and happy Influence.

With an Appendix, *wherein are contained some Works of his, never before published.*

J. Strype.

LONDON,

Printed for *A. Roper*, at the *Black Boy*, over against St. *Dunstan's* Church, in *Fleet-street*, and *R. Basset*, at the *Mitre* within *Temple-Bar* MDCXCVIII.

Sr THOMAS SMITH Kt
Born March 28. 1512. Deceased
Aug. 12. 1577. in ye 65t year of his ag

THE

LIFE

Of the Learned

Sir *THOMAS SMITH* Kt.

Doctor of the CIVIL LAW;

Principal SECRETARY of STATE to King *EDWARD* the Sixth, and Queen *ELIZABETH*.

WHEREIN

Are discovered many Singular Matters relating to the State of Learning, the Reformation of Religion, and the Transactions of the Kingdom, during his Time. In all which he had a great and happy Influence.

With an Appendix, *wherein are contained some Works of his, never before published.*

J. Strype

LONDON,

Printed for *A. Roper*, at the *Black Boy*, over against St. *Dunstan's* Church, in *Fleet-street*, and *R. Basset*, at the *Mitre* within *Temple-Bar* MDCCVIII.

E
RBR
1466

TO

Sir *EDWARD SMITH*,

OF

HILHAL

IN

ESSEX, Baronet.

SIR,

THE Regard I have ever born in my Mind towards Men of Eminency, in Times paſt born and bred among us, (eſpecially when with their Qualities and Places they have been adorned with Learning, Wiſdom or Integrity,) led me at my leiſure-Hours to make curſory Collections out of my Books and Papers, of their Lives and Actions. And many ſuch men there were in the Laſt Age, when Learning and

Religion after a long Eclipſe, began again to enlighten our Horizon. Whereof ſome, however uſeful they were in their Times, and made a fair Figure to the World, are now in effect quite forgotten; and tho' the Names of others of that ſort are better known, yet but ſlight and imperfect Characters remain of them. Whenas they were perhaps the great Pillars of the State or Church, and whoſe Counſils and Aſſiſtances the Prince made much uſe of in the weighty Tranſactions of his Kingdom. Of theſe I confeſs I cannot read or hear, but I am drawn with an Inquiſitive Humour to know more of them, as whence they ſprang, their Country, their Parentage, their Education, their Tempers and Inclinations, and remarkable Actions, and what Events fell out to them, over and above what is commonly known or vulgarly told of them. And when by ſearching a little out of the ordinary Way as it were, (I mean in the By-corners of old rejected Papers or Letters, and other Journals, Records, Regiſters, &c.) I gain further Notice of theſe ancient Patriots, there is wont to ariſe thence a great Complacency to my mind. And the Thoughts that it may be as

delight-

delightful to others as to my self, to revive the Memory of such, and represent as much of them as can be retrieved, hath moved me to make publick some of my Collections of this nature. And moreover, I reckon it a Matter of Equity and Gratitude due from Posterity to preserve the Names and Remembrances of all worthy men that have served God, their Prince, or Country by their Learning or other Abilities. And God himself seems to take care of this, when he saith, *That the Memory of the Just shall be Blessed*, as their due Reward.

These, Sir, are some of the Reasons, why I have now brought that to pass, which I formerly made you privy to; namely, the Publishing what I could retrieve of the Life of your most Laudable and Accomplished Ancestor Sir *THOMAS SMITH*. He was a Person that lived in very Critical Times, occasioned by Court-Factions, and the frequent Alterations of Religion, and the various Dispositions and Interests of the Princes whom he served. So that he could hardly keep himself always upon his Legs: but by his great Wisdom and Moderation, tho' he sometimes fell, he

fell ſoftly, and fell to riſe again with more Glory. This may make his Hiſtory the more pleaſant and uſeful: Eſpecially being mixed with many Occurrences in his Time, wherein he bore a great Part, both in the Univerſity, in the Church, and in the Commonwealth. Where ſuch things may be read, which perhaps are not to be met with elſewhere.

Your ſaid Anceſtor, Sir, was the beſt Scholar in his Time, a moſt admirable Philoſopher, Orator, Linguiſt, and Moraliſt. And from thence it came to paſs, that he was alſo a very wiſe Stateſman, and a Perſon withal of moſt unalterable Integrity and Juſtice, (which he made his *Politicks* to comport with) and laſtly, a conſtant Embracer of the Reformed Religion, and therein made a Holy and good End. And therefore the *Engliſh* Soil which he ſo adorned, would be ingrateful, if ſhe ſhould let the Memory of ſuch a man born in her, paſs away, and lie for ever in obſcurity. But as he was all this to the Publick, ſo, Sir, let me add, he is, and ever will be, an Ornament to your ancient Houſe and Family, to your *Theo-den Mount*, where the Noble Seat erected by him, will be his laſting Monument, and finally to the County of *ESSEX*, where

where he was Born and Educated, whither he gladly retired, as often as publick Buſineſs permitted him, and where he quietly reſigned his laſt Breath to God.

This Great man is the Subject of this Book: which therefore deſerves to have been writ by an abler Pen. I am conſcious to my ſelf that I have omitted many remarkable Paſſages of his Life, which, could they have been retrieved, would have ſhewn him ſtill more reſplendent to the World. But it is impoſſible to recover all. What I have collected together in theſe Papers from various and ſundry Books, and Original Writings, are ſufficient to give a fair, tho' not a full Account of him. And that which I value my preſent Undertaking for is, that I have done it impartially: For it is not of the nature of a Rhetorical Panegyric, wherein more Care is taken to Praiſe, than to ſpeak Truth. To which laſt I have had a very tender Regard; being born out in every thing I have writ by the Authority of indubitable Monuments; that is, either of *Smith*'s own Letters, Books and Papers, or of others his Friends and Contemporaries.

One thing more, Sir, ſeems requiſite to have been done, to render this Work

more perfect, namely, together with this, to have publiſhed his Manuſcript Exercitations and Diſcourſes, which being the Fruits and Products of his Learned Brain, no queſtion would have been very acceptable to all ſuch as have a Value for him. Two of theſe, that is, His Dialogues concerning Queen *Elizabeth*'s Marriage, and his Tables of the Valuation of Coins, I have now brought to Light. But alas! what Pity is it, that all the reſt of his brave Philoſophical, Aſtronomical, Moral, Political and Divine Thoughts, digeſted by him into divers Tracts, are now 'tis to be feared, (except his *Common-wealth*, and his Books of *Pronuntiation*) utterly loſt; together with all his other Papers, except ſome Letters of State, that lie in the Kings Paper-houſe, and thoſe rough Writings, Sir, in your Hands, and a few others elſewhere. But where are now his Univerſity Exerciſes, his Learned Readings, his Eloquent Orations, exhortatory of Vertue, Morality and ſound Knowledge, his Correſpondences with the beſt Wits of his Age, and many Elucubrations upon ingenious Subjects, which his buſie Head was always employed in? I am affraid I muſt ſay, they are periſht irrecoverably.

So that this poor Book of mine must ſerve for the chiefeſt Remains of our Stateſman. And, Sir, my Pains therein I hope, will be taken in good Part by you and others, excuſing candidly my Imperfections: As particularly my Style; which peradventure to ſome may appear more looſe and neglected; and not ſo ſmooth, nor ſet off with Words, as might be expected in Books appearing abroad now a days. But my chief Aim is to ſpeak Truth, and to make my ſelf underſtood of him that reads me. Nor do I care, this being ſecured, to be too curious in my Expreſſions. And perhaps my Converſe with a Language and the Writings of an Age or two paſt may render my Periods more rough and unpoliſhed. But this I ſuppoſe will humanely be forgiven me.

Nor would I have it diſguſt you, Sir, that in the Current of the Hiſtory you are ſparingly entertained with ſome Latin Poetry, or other Allegations out of Authors; ſo long as they are Hiſtorical and directly tend to illuſtrate the Story, and the Man I am writing of: and not merely uſed for Flouriſh and Ornament. This Caution I the rather give, being aware of a Cenſure of this nature made by one Mr. *Nicolſon* upon a Book lately ſet forth, concer- *Engliſh Hiſtoric. Library*, Pt. II. p. 105.

concerning the Life of Archbiſhop *Cranmer*; blaming the Author for crouding ſo much his other Learning into the Body of the Hiſtory, (he means Citations out of the *Latin* Poets and other *Claſſics*) *which*, as he ſaith, *inſtead of entertaining his Readers anſwerable to his good Deſign, was apt to amuſe and diſtract them.* The Rule he drives at for an Hiſtoriographer to obſerve is good. For a Reader cannot but be diſpleaſed to have the Subject matter he is reading frequently interrupted by moral Sentences, Obſervations or Stories out of Authors, or other Digreſſions. But ſurely by the Way he hath wronged that Writer, no man ſeeming to be more of Mr. *Nicolſon*'s Mind than he, and leſs guilty of that which he lays to his Charge. For I have read the Book, and unleſs I am much miſtaken, there is but one Diſtich out of *Martial*, (and ſcarcely another Quotation to be met with in the whole Volume,) and that was concerning the great *Pompey*'s having no Monument as that good Archbiſhop had none. But if peradventure any other Citation be found in that Book, it is directly in purſuit of the Hiſtory, and not ſurely (to ſpeak ſo much in that Writers behalf) intended as a mere Embelliſhment. And if this be a Fault, I may in this Piece be guilty of

ſome

ſome ſuch Blemiſh: which I reckon in Truth none at all.

You may poſſibly, Sir, here and there in the Book meet with ſome Paſſages concerning Sir *Thomas*, ſeeming too minute and jejune to be taken notice of, and of little Moment. But herein I entreat you, Sir, to bear with me, as you would do with an Admirer of ſome Piece of Antiquity, who is want diligently to pick up and preſerve even the contemptible Stones and Fragments that he finds in the Ruines of it. But beſides, upon a little Circumſtance we know many times depend great Matters; and a Hint may open a Door into ſome material Points of Hiſtory. And in a word, what one Reader may run over, as not worth regarding, another may perceive delight or Profit therein. Which were Conſiderations that ſwayed me not to reject or caſt aſide even the ſlighter Matters that may be found in this Hiſtory.

You are, Sir, the propereſt Perſon to whom this Book ſhould be Dedicated: Not only in that you have ſo freely communicated to me divers of Sir *Thomas*'s Papers remaining in your Cuſtody; and that you are his next Relation in a Collateral Line, and to you is deſcended his beloved Manor of *Mounthaw*, or *Mounthault*,

hault, and that eligant Fabrick of his rearing there; but chiefly, becauſe you do ſo truly reſemble his Vertues, in being ſo uſeful a Magiſtrate, a Gentleman of ſo ſober and regular a Converſation in this looſe and debauched Age, and ſo conſtant an Adherer to the Religion profeſt in the Church of *England*, which your Predeceſſor had a great hand in the Reformation of, and in which he ſo ſtedfaſtly perſevered.

Pardon therefore, Sir, this that I have done, to prefix Sir *EDWARD SMITH*'s Name to Sir *THOMAS SMITH*'s Life, and this long Addreſs I have made to you on the ſame Account: Wiſhing withal my Heart the Continuance of your Worthy Name and Family, for many ſucceſſive Generations in the hopeful Iſſue God hath given you, to be a Bleſſing to *Eſſex*, and to the whole *Engliſh* Nation. And ſo I deſiſt from being further importunate, and am, and have great reaſon always to be,

SIR,

Your very Humble and
Obliged Servant,

J. S.

A TABLE OF THE CHAPTERS and CONTENTS OF THIS BOOK.

CHAP. I. Pag. 1.

SIR *Thomas Smith*'s Birth, Parentage and Education.

Born *at* Walden *in* Eſſex. *In what Year. His* An. 1512. *Father. The Guild at* Walden. John Smith *his* 1526. *Father High Sheriff. His Coat of Arms. A Favourer of Religion. Sir* Thomas's *Mother. His Brother* John. *His Brother* George *a Merchant. His School. Removed to the Univerſity. The Diſtribution of the Hiſtory.*

CHAP. II. Pag. 9.

Sent to *Queens* College in *Cambridge*: Choſen a Kings Scholar: Reads the *Greek*

Greek Lecture; And rectifies the Pronunciation: University Orator: His Applause.

An. 1526. 1531. 1533. 1535. 1536. *Entred at* Queen's *College. Becomes King* Henry's *Scholar, together with* Cheke *of S.* Johns. *What first gave Occasion to his Studies. Made Fellow. Reads the* Greek *Lecture. Consults with* Cheke *about* Greek *Sounds. Brings in a new way of pronouncing* Greek. *Reads privately in his College.* Smith's *correct way of Sounding the* Greek *prevails in the University. Made University Orator. His Lectures flocked to.*

Pag. 19. CHAP. III.

He Travels: His Conferences with Learned Men at *Orleans* and *Paris*: Takes his Degree at *Padua*: Returns home: His usefulness at the University: The Controversie there arisen about his Way of Pronouncing *Greek.*

An. 1539. 1542. 1546. *He goes abroad. Confers with the Professor at* Orleans; *and at* Paris *with* Strazelius, *and a* Græcian. *Travels to* Italy. *Made* Regius Professor *of the Civil Law. A general Scholar. Chancellor to the Bishop of* Ely. *Breeds up Pupils. Refines the* English *Writing.* Ascham. *A Tract by* Smith *writ for that*

that Purpoſe. Rectifies the Pronunciation of Greek. *A Controverſie ariſes in the Univerſity hereupon.* Cheke Greek *Lecturer; Clamoured againſt. The Decree of the Chancellor.* Smith's *Compliance. His Epiſtle to the Chancellor upon this Argument. A late Profeſſor of* Baſil *ſtands up for the old Sounds. Religion promoted by* Smith *in the Univerſity. He addreſſes to the* Queen *in behalf of* Cambridge. *His Academical Exercíſes. His Preferments, while at* Cambridge. *His Port.*

CHAP. IV. Pag. 38

Smith removed into the Protectors Family: His Preferments under King *Edward*: Made Secretary: Goes an Embaſſy.

Comes to Court. Addreſt to by the Univerſity. Their Letter. Made Maſter of Requeſts to Somerſet. *Other Dignities conferred on him. His Purchaſes. Marries. Marries again. He is Slandered. Suffers Imprisonment with the Duke. Made Secretary. Goes Ambaſſador. His Letter to the Protector.* Smith *concerned in the Alteration of Religion; and Redreſs of baſe Money.* An. 1547. 1548.

CHAP.

Chapters *and* Contents.

Pag. 48.

CHAP. V.

Sir *Thomas Smith* in Commiſſion. Words between Biſhop *Boner* and him. His Fidelity to the Duke of *Somerſet*.

An. 1549. Smith *in a Commiſſion againſt Anabaptiſts.*
1550. *One of the Viſitors of* Cambridge. *In Commiſſion upon*
1551. *Biſhop* Boner, *who would have declined him.* Smith *deals roundly with him. His Words to* Boner's *Servants.* Boner *enters a Recuſation againſt* Smith. *Who chargeth him with Diſobedience.* Smith *in trouble with the Protector: Depoſed againſt Biſhop* Gardiner. *Makes a Purchaſe. Goes in Embaſſy to* France.

Pag. 59.

CHAP. VI.

The Condition of Sir *Thomas Smith* under Queen *Mary*. His wiſe Advertiſements.

An. 1553. *He loſes all his Places. He hath an Indulgence*
1554. *from the Pope. Biſhop* Gardiner *his Friend. Gains*
1555. Gardiner's *Favour upon his firſt Addreſs to him*
1556. *from* Cambridge. Aſcham *favoured by* Gar-
1557. diner. *Even Biſhop* Boner *pretends to be* Smith's *Friend.* Rob. Smith, *a Retainer of Sir* Tho. Smith, *burnt. His Grief at theſe Times.* Smith's *wiſe Advertiſements and Counſels.*

CHAP.

Chapters *and* Contents.

CHAP. VII. Pag. 72.

Smith called to Queen *Elizabeth*'s Court. Concerned in the Settlement of Religion. His Judgment of the Queen's Marriage.

Employed in the Reformation; and in one of the Committees for the State; And in swearing the Officers of Walden. *His Service in the Commission of the Peace. Subscription of the Justices.* Smith's *Dialogues concerning the Queen's Marriage.* *An.* 1558. 1559. 1560.

CHAP. VIII. Pag. 85.

Sir *Thomas*'s Embassies to *France.*

Why not restored to be Secretary. Dispatched to France. *Stops at* Calais; *and why. Directions to him from the Council.* Smith *a Peace-mover. Confers with the Pope's Legate. The Secretary Advice to the Ambassador. The* Queen's *Orders to him. Three Evils in* France. Smith's *Behaviour in his Embassy. Entertains a subtil Spy. His Complaint. The Ambassador's. Instructions concerning the Prince of* Conde. *He sends News to the Council. Ordered to speak only in* Latin *in his Negotiation. Contention between* Smith *and* Throgmorton. *An.* 1562. 1563.

Smith's *Plainneſs pleaſeth the Lord* Robert. *Inſtructions for* Smith's *Dealing with the Proteſtants.* Smith *treateth for Peace. Doctor* Haddon's *Advice to* Smith.

Pag. 99. CHAP. IX.

Oſorius his Letter to the Queen; And Doctor *Haddon*'s Anſwer. Difference between *Smith* and *Throgmorton*, the Queen's joint Ambaſſadors. *Smith* and *Cecyl* Friends.

An. 1563. *The Ambaſſador ſends over Books to* Cecyl. *To procure a Book to be Printed in* France. Oſorius's *Epiſtle to the Queen; Anſwered by* Haddon. *This Anſwer recommended to* Smith *to reviſe; And publiſh. A Licence for which, he labours to obtain from the Chancellor: Which he will not grant.* Smith *preſſeth it. Argues with the Chancellor of* France *about it. The Progreſs of this Controverſie. Difference between the two Ambaſſadors. Some Character of* Throgmorton. Cecyl's *and* Smith's *Friendſhip.*

CHAP.

Chapters *and* Contents.

CHAP. X. Pag. 110.

Peace with *France*. *Smith* continues Ambaſſador there. His Book of the Commonwealth of *England*. Returns. A Review of his Embaſſy.

Smith *affects a Peace. Sollicits the Queen's Debt. The* Queen *Continues him Ambaſſador. A Match for the* Queen *propounded to him. Finiſheth his Book of the Commonwealth. His extraordinary Expence.* Smith's *Son with him. He labours to come home. He returns. He is Inquiſitive how his Negotiation is accepted. He follows the Court of* France. *His Reflection upon his Hearing of the* Queen's *going to* Cambridge. *He compoſeth his Book of the* Engliſh *Commonwealth at* Tholouſe. *He enquireth for Learned men in* Paris. *He procures the Printing of the Anſwer to* Oſorius. *His Correſpondence with* Haddon, *Ambaſſador in* Flanders. Smith's *Opinion of* Tully's *Philoſophy and Law. His Reflection on the Troubles occaſioned by* Hales's *Book:* An. 1564. 1565.

CHAP. XI. Pag. 124.

Smith goes over Ambaſſador again to demand *Calais*. His Employment at

home. Concerned in turning Iron into Copper.

An. 1566. 1567. 1570. 1571. Smith *now at home, ſent again to demand* Calais. *Takes his Son with him. The Manner of his demanding* Calais. *Sues for the Place of Chancellor of the Dutchy. Sir* Thomas *in the Country adminiſtring Juſtice. Witches by him examined.* Malter's *wife.* Ann Vicars. *Sir* Thomas *admitted into the Council. Labours about Tranſmuting Iron into Copper. His Progreſs therein. Some Lords come into the Project. The Projectors formed into a Society. The Patent for it ſigned. The Buſineſs finds Delay. The Chymiſt a Beggar.*

Pag. 140. CHAP. XII.

Smith waits upon the Queen at *Audley End.* Goes on Embaſſy to *France.* Concludes a League. Concerned in Propoſals of a Match for the Queen.

An. 1571. *He examineth the Duke of* Norfolk's *Secretary. Goes Ambaſſador again to* France, *to make firm Amity againſt* Spain. *An Article debated by* Smith. *His Argument with the* French Queen. Smith *perſwades the* Queen. *She conſents to the League. He loved not many Words. His hardſhip in* France. *Communication between the Queen Mother and* Smith, *concerning* Queen Elizabeth's *Marriage. Further*

ther Diſcourſe on the ſame Argument. His Thoughts of the Queen's Marrying. His Concern for her Sickneſs; And the Irreſolutions of the Court. The Queen of Navarre *ſends to Sir* Thomas.

CHAP. XIII. Pag. 156.

Made Chancellor of the Garter. Comes home. Becomes Secretary of State. His Advice for forwarding the Queen's Match. His Aſtoniſhment upon the *Paris* Maſſacre.

The Queen gives Smith *the Chancellorſhip of the Order. Comes home. Made Secretary. Famed in the Court for his Learning.* Smith's *Device for a View between* Monſieur *and the Queen. His Thoughts of the Maſſacre at* Paris. *His Deteſtation of it. His Reaſon of the Manner of anſwering the* French *Ambaſſador. His Obſervation of the Prejudice the* French *did themſelves in* Scotland. An. 1578

CHAP. XIV. Pag. 166.

Secretary *Smith* at *Windſor*, diſpatching Buſineſs. His Care of *Flanders* and *Ireland*. *Maſſmongers* and *Conjurers* ent up

up to him out of the North. His Colony in *Ireland.*

An. 1572. *The Secretary at* Windſor; *Diſpatching Agents and* Iriſh *Matters. His Compaſſion for* Flanders. *His Advice about the Earl of* Deſmond: *And the Quarrel between* Clanricard *and* Fitton. *Maſs-mongers and Conjurers, ſent up to the Secretary. His Letter to the Earl of* Shrewsbury *hereupon. Perſwades the Queen to ſend Aid unto* Scotland. *Which upon his Motion ſhe condeſcends to. Two* Scotch *men by him examined. Sir* Thomas *ſends a Colony into* Ardes. *His Patent for it. Sir* Thomas's *Son leads the Colony. His Rules and Orders for it. Mr.* Smith's *Care in the Colony. Draws up Inſtructions for his Son. Families of* Engliſh *found in the* Ardes. *Mr.* Smith's *good Service this Winter. Mr.* Smith *ſlain. The* Ardes *neglected upon Sir* Thomas's *Death. How loſt from the Family.*

Pag. 184. CHAP. XV.

The Secretary Oppreſſed with Buſineſs. His Diſcourſe with the Queen about *Ireland,* and the Earl of *Eſſex.* His Act in the behalf of Colleges of Learning. His Sickneſs and Death.

The

Chapters *and* Contents.

The Secretary uneaſie, at the Queen's Delays. An. 1574. *The Queen deliberates about Supplies for the Earl* 1575. *of* Eſſex. *Her Backwardneſs thereunto troubles* 1576. *the Secretary. Conference between the Queen and* 1577. *her Secretary about* Ulſter, *and the Earl of* Eſſex. *His Advice to the Queen concerning him. The Secretary with the Queen in Progreſs. She ſpeaks to the Secretary about dangerous Beggars. He procures an Act for Schools of Learning. The Act. His fatal Diſtemper ſeizes him. It affected chiefly his Tongue and Throat. The Orator now ſcarce can ſpeak. To divert his Sickneſs he looks over his former Writings. His Book of* Roman *Coins. The Phyſician's tamper with him. They leave him to Kitchin Phyſick. Goes into the Country. Dies. Perſons attending his Funerals. Buried. His Monument. His Lady dies. His Perſon deſcribed.*

CHAP. XVI.

His laſt Will.

Prg. 204.

Makes his Will: For the finiſhing his Houſe and An. 1577. *Monument. To his Lady. For preſerving good Houſekeeping. To his Brother. His Library to* Queen's *College; or* Peter-Houſe. *Books to his Friends. A Cup to the Queen. In caſe of Doubt ariſing in the Will. His Executors. The Date of his Will.*

CHAP.

Pag. 211. CHAP. XVII.

Observations upon Sir *Thomas Smith*.

His Learning. A Platonick. *A Physician. His* Recipe *for the Plague. His Chymical Water sent to the Countess of* Oxford. *His* Matthiolus. *A Chymist. A Mathematician. An Arithmetician. An Astronomer. His Judgment of the Star in* Cassiopæia. *A Politician. A Linguist. An Historian. An Orator. An Architect. His Library. Books by him written. A great Judge in Learning. His Acquaintance. The Vogue of his Learning. Beneficial to Learning. His Places. His houses; in* Chanon-Row: *In* London: *At* Ankerwick. Mounthaut. *His heir Sir* William Smith.

Pag. 233. CHAP. XVIII.

Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Vertuous Accomplishments.

His Religion. His Principles by which he governed himself: His Vertues. Vices falsely charged on him. His Spirit. His Apparel. Not oppressive, Of an universal Charity. His Apophthegms. Leland's *Copy of Verses to* Smith. *Dr.* Byng's *Epitaph on him.*

THE

THE LIFE Of the Learned Sir *THOMAS SMITH*, Kt.

CHAP. I.

Sir THOMAS SMITH's *Birth, Parentage, and Education.*

THE Learned Sir *THOMAS SMITH*, sometime Secretary of State to K. *Edward* VI. and afterward to Q. *Elizabeth*, was born at *Walden* in the County of *Essex*, distinguish'd by the Name of *SAFFRON Walden*; the Lands of that Parish, and the Parts adjacent, being famous for the Growth of that useful Medicinal Plant; whether first brought thither by this Knight's Industry (being a great Planter) I know not; for it was first brought into *England*, as we are told, in the Reign of K. *Edward* III.

An. 1512. K. *Henry* 8. Born at Walden in Essex.

Camb. Brit.

An. 1512. K. *Henry* 8. *In what Year.* *Hiſt. of* Q. Elizabeth. *Acts and Mon. firſt Edit.*

According to *Cambden*, who writes, that Sir *Thomas Smith* died *Anno* 1577. in his Climacteric, he muſt have been born in the Year 1514. According to *Fox*, (who, in his Relation of an Evidence given by the ſaid Knight in *February*, *Anno* 1551. againſt Biſhop *Gardiner*, aſſigned his Age then to be Three and Thirty) he muſt have been born in the Year 1518. But himſelf putteth his Age out of doubt in his Book of the *Engliſh* Commonwealth, where he ſaith, that *March* the 28th, 1565. he was in the One and Fiftieth Year of his Age. By which Computation he muſt have come into the World in the Year 1512. (a Year famous to *England* for building of a Ship, the biggeſt that ever the Sea bore.) And by the Inſcription on his Monument it appears, he departed this Life in the 65th Year of his Age. So that *Cambden* made him Two Years younger than he was, and *Fox* Five; unleſs we ſhould ſay the Figure 33 is miſ-printed for 39, a Fault too common in his Books.

His Father.

Our Knight's Father was *John Smith* of *Walden*, Gentleman, a Perſon of good Rank, Quality and Wealth. Of which we may take ſome Meaſure from two Purchaſes he made of K. *Edward* in one Year, *viz.* the Third of his Reign; that is to ſay, a Chauntry in the Church of *Long Aſhton* in *Somerſetſhire*, with other Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments in the Counties of *Somerſet* and *Gloceſter*, which coſt him 293 *l.* 16 *s.* 8 *d.* His other Purchaſe was all the Guild or Fraternity in *Great Walden* lately diſſolved, with divers other Lands and Tene-

Tenements in *Eſſex* and *London*. For which he, with another Joint-Purchaſer, paid 531 *l.* 14 *s.* 11 *d.* Of which Fraternity of *Walden* this, by the way, muſt be remembered for the Honour of it, that in a Grant made to it by K. *Henry* VIII. as he willed there, "That he "might evermore be remembred in their per-"petual Prayers, ſo he charitably deſired, "that he might be admitted a Brother thereof, "and his dear Wife Q. *Katherine* to be a Siſter. And divers others are expreſſed there to be deſirous to be admitted to the ſame, as, the Right Worſhipful Dr. *Wolſey*, Almoner to the King; *Richard Nix*, Biſhop of *Norwich*; *Henry*, Earl of *Eſſex*, and his Lady; Lord *Brook*, Chief Juſtice of *England*; Sir *John Cutts*, Sir *Tho. Semer*, and divers other Gentlemen and Ladies.

An. 1512. K. *Henry* 8. *The Guild of* Walden

This *John Smith*, if we look further back, was in the 30th of King *Henry* VIII. High Sheriff of the Counties of *Eſſex* and *Hertford*: For in thoſe Times one Sheriff ſerved both Counties.

Jo. Smith *High Sheriff.*

In the Year 1545. and the 35th of K. *Henry* aforeſaid, his Coat of Arms was granted him by the principal King of Arms, or rather confirmed. For the ſaid King's Patent ſpecifies, That he was deſcended of honeſt Lineage, and his Anceſtors had long continued in Nobility and bearing of Arms; and that it was Mr. *Smith*'s Deſire, that the King of Arms would ratifie unto him his former Coat, and Regiſter it in the Records of his Office. The Coat therefore granted, annexed and attribu-

His Coat of Arms.

An. 1512. *K. Henry* 8.

ted unto him was Sables, a Feſſe Dauncy between three Lionceux, regardant, Argent, Languid Gules, pawing with their Left Paws upon as many Altars flaming and burning thereon, (for that theſe were Anvils, as ſome have thought, alluding to the Name of *Smith*, is a Fancy) Upon the Feſſe Nine Billets of his Field. The Creſt an Eagle riſing Sable, holding in his Right Claw a Pen Argent, Flames of Fire iſſuing thereout. This Creſt Sir *Thomas* changed upon a notable Reaſon, as we ſhall relate in due place. Of this Coat of Arms I have laid a Copy of the Original Patent in the *Appendix*; which is in Parchment, very well adorned round about with Pictures of Roſes and Flowers *de Lys*, and the Lively Effigies of *Garter* arrayed in his rich Coat, ſtanding with a white Wand in his Hand, and a Crown on his Head, and the Coat of *Smith* blazoned on the right ſide of him, and pointed to by the ſaid white Wand.

Num. I.

A Favourer of Religion.

I have but one thing more to ſay of this Gentleman, and that is, That he was an old Favourer of the Religion Reformed, in which he brought up his Son *Thomas* from his Youth. He lies buried in the Church of *Walden*, where his Monument is yet remaining; that is, ſo much of it as contains his Coat of Arms; but the Braſs that bore the Inſcription torn off. This for Sir *Thomas*'s Father.

Sir Thomas's Mother.

His Parentage on his Mother's ſide was alſo Gentile, being derived from the ancient Name of the *Chernocks* of *Lancaſhire*; his Mother *Agnes* being a Daughter and Co-heir of that Family.

mily. By this Gentlewoman *John Smith* had Iſſue divers Children of both Sexes, *viz.* Four Daughters, *Agnes* and *Margery*, *Alice* and *Jane*, (which two laſt were married;) and three Sons, *Thomas*, *John* and *George*. The Poſterity of which laſt flouriſh to this Day in Wealth and Honour; and poſſeſs the Seat and Inheritance of *Thomas*, the Subject of our enſuing Hiſtory, with great Improvements of the Eſtate. Tho' no more Sons are expreſs'd in the Roll of the Pedigree, as it is preſerved in the Office of Arms; yet there ſeems to have been another Son, an elder Brother to *Thomas*. For I have ſeen ſometime a Creſcent for diſtinction in his Seal, which he uſed for the Sealing of his Letters, engraven with his Arms. *An.* 1512. K. Henry 8.

His Brother *John* was the chief Inſtrument and Procurer of the new Erection of the Corporation of the Town of *Walden*, in the Third Year of King *Edward* VI. after the Diſſolution of the ancient Fraternity of the Holy Trinity of the ſaid Town, by Vertue of an Act of Parliament in the firſt of the ſaid King, mentioned before. The Corporation then founded by that King's Letters Patents bore the Name (as the old Fraternity or Guild had done) of Treaſurer and two Chamberlains, who were Juſtices of Peace, and Four and Twenty Aldermen; which now, by a later Charter, is changed into a Mayor and Twelve Aldermen, In thoſe Letters Patents the ſaid *John Smith junior* was nominated the firſt Treaſurer of the ſaid Corporation. In the *His Brother John.*

An. 1512. K *Henry* 8. Chamber where the Town-Writings of *Walden* are kept, there is a Book, containing their By-Laws, which bears the Title of *Ordinances and Statutes for the Corporation of the Town of* Walden *upon the new Erection of the ſame.* From thence is extracted what is above-ſaid. Another piece of good Service done by the ſaid *John* to the Town, was, That when an ancient Alms-houſe, founded *Anno* 1400. the Lands of which were ſwallowed up and loſt, being given to the King by Act of Parliament, as an Appendent, perhaps, of the Guild, the Pariſhioners made Suit to him in behalf thereof by this *John Smith*, who, by means of his Brother, our Sir *Tho. Smith*, then Secretary of State, obtained Letters Patents from the King, dated *Feb.* 18. in the Third of his Reign, That he the ſaid *John Smith*, being then Treaſurer, and *William Strachy* the younger, and *Thomas Williamſon*, then Chamberlains, and their Succeſſors, might found, erect, *&c.* an Alms-houſe, with one Maſter and his Brother, *&c.* and that it ſhould be called *King* Edward's *Alms-houſe.* I can give no Account of this Branch of the Family, unleſs perhaps it was that Stock of the *Smiths*, that lived long in *Little Walden* upon a moderate Living there; which now is gone out of the Name, and poſſeſſed at preſent by the Reverend Dr. *E. Norton*; to whom I am beholden for communicating what is here written of this Brother of Sir *Thomas*, with ſome other things relating to the Town of *Walden.*

His

His younger Brother *George* followed the Calling of a Merchant of *London*, living in a House of his Brother *Thomas*'s in *Philpot-lane*, while he remained at *Cambridge*. And as his Money came in there, he uſed to ſend it to his ſaid Brother to mend his Stock, without taking a Penny or Half-penny Advantage in conſideration of his Loan, the better to aſſiſt him in carrying on his Traffick, as Sir *Thomas* wrote ſomewhere, to juſtifie himſelf from an Imputation of Covetouſneſs, charged upon him once by the Dutcheſs of *Somerſet*, when he lived in her Family. *An.* 1512. K. *Henry* 8. *His Brother* George *a Merchant.*

Where our Youth's tender Years were formed I cannot aſſign; but I conclude it to be at the old School in his Native Town of *Walden*; which afterward, by his Intereſt at the Court, he got advanced unto a Royal Foundation, with good Endowment from the King his Maſter, in the Third Year of his Reign; when he granted to the School there two Mills, *viz.* a Corn-mill near the Town, and a Malt-mill in it; together with all the Emoluments, Tolls and Benefits accrewing, and an Annuity of Twelve Pounds, iſſuing out of the Mannor of *Willingale Spane* in *Eſſex*, for the Maintenance and Support of the ſaid School. This ſeems to be but a Grafting upon the ancient School here: For I have received from the Reverend Perſon above-mentioned, the preſent Vicar of *Walden*, and he from the Inſpection of the Town-Writings, That there was anciently a School in this place, and a Maſter and Uſher over it; and *His School.*

An. 1512. K. *Henry* 8. that it was governed by divers excellent Orders for its Six Forms; and that in the 14th Year of King *Henry* VIII. one Dame *Jane Bradbury* (for why ſhould theſe old Memorials be loſt?) ſettled 10 *l. per Annum* upon it: That there was alſo a Tripartite Indenture for the ſaid School, dated *Aug.* 24. betwixt Dame *Jane Bradbury* Widow, Siſter to *John Leche*, late Vicar of *Walden*, and the Treaſurer and Chamberlains of the Guild of the Holy Trinity in the Pariſh Church of *Walden*, and the Abbot and Convent of the Monaſtery of the ſame Town: And that one *William Cawſon* had behaved himſelf ſo well in ſinging Maſs, and in teaching the School, that he was elected when it was made a Free School; and he was obliged to teach Grammar after the Form of *Wincheſter* and *Eaton*; and to teach freely the Children that were born in *Walden*, *Little Cheſterford*, *Newport* and *Widdington*, and the Children and Kinsfolk of the ſaid Dame *Jane*.

An. 1526. *Remov'd to the Univerſity.* We are in Obſcurity concerning the Towardlineſs of *Smith*'s young Years, and thoſe Sparks of Aptneſs, Ingenuity and Vertue that then appeared in him; which yet we may take for granted from his early remove to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*: For, according to the neareſt Computation I can make, he was tranſplanted thither at the Age of 14 or 15 Years at the moſt.

Diſtribution of this Hiſtory. And having brought him thus far, to enter now upon our Remarks of him, and to unveil who and what this Man was, whom I have raiſed

raiſed, as it were, from the Shades, now after an Hundred Years and more, to ſet him before this preſent Age, as a Pattern of true Honour, Vertue and Generoſity; We ſhall take a four-fold View of him. *An.* 1526. *K. Henry* 8.

I. At the Univerſity, where his Learning made him famed.

II. Under King *Edward*, when he became a Courtier.

III. Under Queen *Mary*, when he concealed himſelf, and lived in a private Capacity.

IV. Under Queen *Elizabeth*, when after ſhe had much employed him in her Service, both in her own and Foreign Courts, he piouſly concluded his uſeful Life.

CHAP. II.

Sent to Queen's College *in* Cambridge: *Choſen a King's Scholar: Reads the Greek Lecture: And rectifies the Pronunciation: Univerſity Orator: His Applauſe.*

HE was admitted in *Queen's College* in the aforeſaid Univerſity; a College then reckoned in the Rank of thoſe Houſes that favoured *Eraſmus* and *Luther*, and harboured ſuch as conſorted privately together to confer about Religion, purged from the Abuſes of *Entred at* Queen's College.

An. 1526. *K. Henry* 8. of the Schools, and the Superſtitions of Popery. Of this Houſe was *Foreman*, who hid *Luther*'s Books, when Search was made in the College for them; and *Heyns*, an ancient Friend of the Goſpel, and Sufferer for it; afterwards Maſter of the College, and Dean of *Exeter*, and one of thoſe who in King *Edward*'s Reign was choſen to aſſiſt at the compiling of the *Engliſh* Communion Book. And perhaps *Eraſmus* and his Writings were more particularly favoured here, that moſt Learned Man, having not long before reſided in this Houſe. Theſe might have been ſome Advantages to ground young *Smith* in Principles of Religion and ſound Knowledge.

King Henry's Scholar. While he was thus a Student here, ſuch Notice was taken of his Parts and Hopefulneſs, that the Knowledge of him came to K. *Henry*, who according to the Cuſtom of the Princes of *England* in thoſe Times, choſe him, and *John Cheke* of St. *John*'s College in the ſame Univerſity, afterwards Tutor to Prince *Edward* his Son, to be his Scholars, and allotted them Salaries out of his Revenues for their Encouragement in their Studies; whereby *Smith* became aſſiſted to bear his Charges in the Univerſity, but eſpecially in his Travels abroad.

Cheke. *Cheke* makes mention of this Honour done to them both, in an Epiſtle to that King before his Edition of *Chryſoſtom*'s two Homilies, which he firſt publiſhed from a Manuſcript, and tranſlated into Latin, wherein he hath theſe words: *Coaptaſti me & Thomam Smithum, Socium & Æqualem meum in Scholaſticos tuos, i. e.* Your Majeſty

Majeſty choſe me, and *Tho. Smith* my Companion and Equal, for your own Scholars. *An.* 1526. K. *Henry* 8. And *Smith* alſo takes occaſion to make a grateful mention of it to Biſhop *Gardiner* in the Controverſie about the right pronouncing of the Greek, (of which we ſhall hear by and by) and thus deſcribes himſelf and his ſaid Fellow: *Quos par ætas, conditio ſimilis, eadem ratio ſtudiorum, & parilis in utrumque Regia Benignitas, & perpetua quædam comparatio ingeniorum & æmulatio, quæ ſolet inter cæteros invidiam & diſſenſionem excitare, conjunctiſſimè ſemper hactenus copulavit, & fraterno amore conſtrinxit*, i. e. "That Equality of Age and Con- "ditions, the ſame Courſe of Studies, and the "Royal Bounty equally exhibited to us, and "the continual vying with one another, and "Emulation of our Parts and Wits, which in "others is wont to kindle Envy and Diſſenſi- "on, hitherto hath united us cloſely, and ti- "ed us both together in Love as Brothers. But for this Royal diſtinguiſhing Favour they were envied by many in the Univerſity. And this was thought to be a Reaſon, that there was ſuch an Oppoſition made to that new correct way of ſounding Greek Words, which they firſt brought in. Which occaſioned *Smith* to ſay, *Let it not offend any, that we are the King's Scholars, and are ſo called; and that his Majeſty doth not altogether deſpiſe us: That we profeſs under the happy Auſpice and Salary of the moſt Learned and Potent Prince.* *De rect. pronunciat.*

Theſe

An. 1526. K. *Henry* 8.

These two proved afterwards an incomparable Pair of Christian Philosophers; and, as long as they were in *Cambridge*, continuing their Fame for Learning. Many Years after one that knew them well, and that University, (I mean Dr. *Haddon*) said of them, That such they had been, and still remained, that none of that University could compare with them, nor, in his Judgment, any Foreigners whatsoever. And it must not be pass'd over what gave one of the first occasions to the Studies that improved them to such Degrees of Learning. *J. Redman*, D.D. and Master of *Trinity College*, but formerly of St. *John*'s, returning from beyond Seas, where he studied in some Foreign Universities, and chiefly at *Paris*, brought home with him the Knowledge of the Latine and Greek Tongues, and was well versed in *Tully*. *Smith* and his Companion, who were then very young, (for it was about the Year 1531.) were stirred up with a kind of Impulse and Emulation of his Learning, and the Honour that was on that account daily done unto him. And being desirous to follow him and his Learning, they threw aside their Barbarisms, and applied themselves to the reading of *Plato*, *Demosthenes*, *Aristotle*, and *Cicero*.

What first gave occasion to his Studies.

Ascham's Schoolmast.

An. 1531. *Made Fellow.*

Smith's Diligence soon procured him to be preferred in the College, where he was afterwards to make a great Figure, and prove a most Eminent Ornament; being made Fellow in the Year 1531. then but Nineteen Years of Age.

Scarce

Scarce had two Years paſſed, but *Smith* had acquired ſuch good Skill in Greek, that he was called to read the Publick Greek Lectures, when his Learned Fellow *Cheke* ſtudied and read them more privately. And from them we may date the Time, that the Knowledge of Greek, and the true florid Elocution of it commenced in this, may, and all other Nations. Cuſtom had now prevailed in a very improper and falſe ſounding of certain Greek Vowels and Diphthongs. For Men now pronounced ι, η, υ, ει, οι, υι, all as ῑσ̃τα. This exceedingly diſparaged the Pronunciation of that noble Language: *When the Reader had almoſt nothing elſe to ſpeak but lamentable Sounds, and that piteous Vowel* I. as *Smith* himſelf complained.

An. 1533. K. *Henry* 8. *Reads the Greek Lecture.*

Nihil fere aliud haberet ad loquendum, niſi lugubres ſonos, & illud flebile ῑσ̃τα. Smith *de Pronunciatione rect.*

Smith and *Cheke* began at laſt to confer together ſeriouſly about this matter, it being now the Year 1535. They well perceiv'd how the vulgar ſounding of the Greek was, and concluded it evidently falſe, that ſo many different Letters and Diphthongs ſhould have but one and the ſame Sound. And a difficult thing they found it to teach this Tongue well, by reaſon of this great and abſurd Confuſion. They proceeded to ſearch Authors, if perhaps thence any certainty might be taken up. But the Modern Writers did but little avail them. For *Eraſmus* they had not yet ſeen, who had in a Book found fault with the common reading of the Greek. But tho' both ſaw theſe palpable Errors, they could not agree among themſelves; but

An. 1535. *Conſults with* Cheke *about the Sounds of Greek.*

An. 1535. *K. Henry* 8. but one thought one thing, and another another; especially concerning the Letters ῆτα and ὖψιλον. They both dreaded the Effects of an unuſual Sound, which, by reaſon of the Novelty, would be hard and hateful. A little after having gotten *Eraſmus* and *Terentianus* (an Author that wrote *De Literis & Syllabis*) they privately made many Corrections, and meditated diligently within the Walls of their own Studies a more emendate manner of ſpeaking; but did not adventure yet to bring it into Light, nor communicate it to any, but thoſe whoſe intimate Familiarity and Friendſhip made them Partakers of their Studies.

Brings in a new way of pronouncing Greek. When this new Utterance of Greek was ſufficiently conquered and inured to them by private uſe, and did daily more and more pleaſe them, by reaſon of that Fulneſs and Sweetneſs that they apprehended in it, they thought good then to make Trial of it publickly. It was agreed that *Smith* ſhould begin. He read at that time *Ariſtotle de Republica*, in Greek, as he had done ſome Years before. And that the Roughneſs of a new Pronunciation might give the leſs Offence, he uſed ſome Craft, which was this, That in his Reading he would let fall a Word only now and then uttered in the new correct Sound. Which he did for this end, That if his Auditors utterly refuſed his Words thus pronounced, then he reckoned he ought to defer his purpoſe for ſome longer time; and accordingly ſo he intended to do: But if they received them with

a

a good Will, then he would the more ſpeedily go on with his Innovation. But behold the Iſſue! At firſt no Notice was taken of it; but when he did it oftner, they began to obſerve, and liſten more attentively. And when *Smith* had often inculcated *ɯ* and *ou* as E and OI, they who three Years before had heard him ſound them frequently uncorrectly after the old way, could not think it was a Lapſe of his Tongue, but ſuſpected ſomething elſe, and laughed at the unuſual Sounds. He again, as though his Tongue had ſlipp'd, would ſometimes correct himſelf, and ſay the Word over again after the old manner. But when he did this daily, and, as appeared, every day, the corrected Sounds flowed from him more and more, ſome of his Friends came to him, and told him what they noted in his Lectures. *Smith* now cared not to diſſemble, but owned that he had been thinking of ſomething privately, but that it was not yet enough digeſted and prepared for the Publick. They, on the other hand, prayed him not to conceal it from them, but to tell them without any grudging. Whereupon he promiſed he would. Upon this Rumor many came together, and repaired to him; whom he required only to hear his Reaſons, and to have Patience with him three or four Days at moſt, until the Sounds, by Uſe, were made more trite to their Ears, and the Prejudice of Novelty more worn off. And ſo by little and little he explained to them the whole Reaſon of the Sounds. Many went to *Cheke*, and related

An. 1535. K. *Henry* 8.

to

An. 1535. K. Henry 8. to him *Smith*'s Diſcourſes; and others reſorted to others, according as they eſteemed them to be Men of Judgment in this matter. Theſe thought ſome one thing, ſome another; *Cheke* aſſented.

Reads privately in his College. At this very time *Smith* read upon one of *Homer*'s *Odyſſes* at home in the College. There he began more plainly and openly to ſhew and determin the Difference of theſe Sounds. Then many came, that they might the more eaſily learn of him *viva voce* to frame their Tongues, and utter the true Sounds. The ſame did *Cheke* in his College. It is not to be expreſs'd with what Greedineſs and Affection this was received among the Youth, and how gladly they agreed to it. The following Winter in St. *John*'s College was acted the Greek Play of *Ariſtophanes*, called *Plutus*, in this Pronunciation, and one or two more of his Comedies; when among thoſe that profeſſed Greek, and were eſteemed Learned Men, it was obſerved there was not ſo much as one that ſignified any Diſlike, or ſhewed any Oppoſition.

Smith's correct way of ſounding the Greek prevails in the Univerſity. *John Ponet*, a Learned and Ingenious young Man, and *Smith*'s Scholar (afterwards Biſhop of *Winton*) ſeems to have ſucceeded his Tutor in this Place: For he read Greek in the Schools in the Name of the Univerſity near this time, and followed his Maſters way of ſounding Greek Words. Next him came into this Place *Aſcham* of St. *John*'s, a Perſon of like Wit and Diligence; who read *Iſocrates*. He, in the beginning of his Lectures, contended with *Ponet* about

about this way of pronouncing, and refuſed to follow it: But becauſe of the Authority that *Cheke* and *Smith* had gained in the Univerſity, he would not reprove it openly. Yet was it not long after, that he became a very eager Defender of this very thing, and ſo remained. Thus in a few Years had this correct way of reading Greek, introduced by *Smith*, prevailed all the Univerſity over. And which was more remarkable, it was conſented to by *John Redman*, Publick Profeſſor and Reader of Divinity, of great Honour and Deference in the Univerſity for his Learning, Integrity of Life, and Gravity of Manners; who, when at any time in his Readings he alledged a Text in Greek, uſed to read it after the correct Pronunciation. And thus by *Smith*'s Pains and Endeavours, never to be forgotten by Poſterity, was the Noble Greek Tongue reſtored to it ſelf, as it was ſpoken in the Times when *Greece* flouriſhed, and brought forth *Plato*, *Dionyſius*, *Plutarchus*, *Demoſthenes*, *Thucydides*, and others. Out of whoſe Writings, he and *Cheke* produced Authorities that they pronounced the Greek as he taught. And by this revived Pronunciation was diſplayed the Flower and Plentifulneſs of that Language, the Variety of Sounds, the Grandure of Diphthongs, the Majeſty of long Letters, and the Grace of diſtinct Speech.

Ann. 1536. K. *Hen.* 8.

And as the Univerſity laid that Honour upon him, of making himſelf their Greek Reader, ſo they gave him the Office of their Orator. In his Greek Lectures, among other

Made Univerſity Orator.

An. 1536. K. *Henry* 8. good Authors (as *Ariſtotle* and *Homer*) he read *Socrates* and *Euripides* for Philoſophy and Morality. His Oratory and Learning intermixed was ſo admirable, and beyond the common Strain, that *Queen's College* carried away the Glory for Eloquence from all the Colleges in the Univerſity beſides, and was rendered ſo famous by this her Scholar, that it had like to have changed her Name from *Queen*'s to *Smith*'s College.

Unius Eloquio ſic jam Reginea tecta
Florebant, quaſi quæ vellent SMITHEA vocari.
Sic reliquos inter Socios Caput extulit unus.

Muſar. Lachrymæ. As *Gabriel Harvey*, *Smith*'s Townſman, and one that knew him well, writes upon his Death.

His Lectures flocked to. Such was the Fame of his Lectures, that not only his own private College, but all the Univerſity, Learned and leſs Learned, Young and Old, flocked to hear him. So writes the ſame Author:

——*Pendebat ab ore*
Unius privata domus, Schola publica, docti,
Indocti, Schola tota Virûm, Schola tota Puellûm.

And the Learnedeſt and Graveſt Men, and his Seniors, and the choiceſt Wits of the Univerſity, would be preſent when he read, and ſit there as his Scholars: As, *Redman*, *Cox*, *Cheke*, *Cecil*, (he that afterwards was Lord Treaſurer) *Haddon*, *Aſcham*, *Car*, *Tonge*, *Bill*, *Wilſon*,

Wilſon, *Goldwel*, *Watſon*, &c. Men of great Name afterwards in Church and State. *An.* 1536. K. *Henry* 8.

Felix qui potuit Smitho *auſcultare loquenti:*
Sive illi Græcè dicendum, ſive Latinè.

And happy he that might hear *Smith* ſpeak, whether it were in Greek or Latine. Thus he continued divers Years in the Univerſity, till he was ſucceeded in the Place of Orator by his Fellow and Friend *John Cheke*, and he by *Roger Aſcham*, another curiouſly Learned Man, in the Year 1544.

CHAP. III.

He Travels: His Conferences with Learned Men at Orleans *and* Paris: *Takes his Degree at* Padua: *Returns Home: His Uſefulneſs at the Univerſity: The Controverſie there ariſen about his way of pronouncing Greek.*

SMITH, having now arrived at ſome Maturity of Knowledge and Learning, and in the Seven and Twentieth Year of his Age, (it being now the Year of our Lord 1539.) went abroad to Travel, for the further improvement of himſelf in polite Learning, elegant Language, Skill in the Modern Tongues, and Experience of the Cuſtoms and Laws of *An.* 1539. *He goes abroad.*

other Countries. A thing commonly practis'd by Scholars in theſe times, to ſtudy ſometime at Foreign Univerſities in *France* and *Italy*, which uſed then to be repleniſhed with very Learned Profeſſors. Being abroad, he took notice of the different Ways of ſpeaking Latin; which, although he did not like, eſpecially the French, who ſounded Latin very corruptly, yet he conformed himſelf to their manner of Speech. And when he came into *Italy*, he followed them there in pronouncing ſome Letters, different from our way; as when he came home he returned to ſpeak as his Countrymen did.

An. 1539. *K. Henry* 8.

Confers with the Profeſſor at Orleans,

But at *Orleans* he became acquainted with *Chriſtophorus Landrinus*, a ſharp and diligent Man, famed for his Skill both in Latin and Greek, and Reader of both Tongues in that City, encouraged with a noble Salary given him by the Duke of *Orleans*. While he and *Smith* conferred together of Studies (as he was courteous to all, but eſpecially obliging to Learned Strangers) they fell at length upon the Greek Learning: Here *Smith* took occaſion to mention the manner of Pronunciation, lately by him taught at *Cambridge*; and having explained to him the whole Manner and Account of it, it cannot be expreſs'd with what Willingneſs, nay, Greedineſs, he received it, giving his ready Aſſent and Approbation to it, not only in Words, but in Experiment and Deeds; ever after following the ſame Courſe in his teaching.

after

After ſome Months he departed from *Orleans* to *Paris*, to wait for the Return of Money, and to receive his Allowance to defray the Charges of his Journey to *Italy*. But being forced to tarry there ſomewhat long for Letters, and weary of doing nothing, he thought he might more profitably ſpend his Leiſure time in reading ſome Lecture publickly, and eſpecially in Greek. This he communicated to *Strazelius*, the King's Profeſſor of the Greek Tongue there. But as yet they came to no Reſolution what Book to read upon. Nor, indeed, did the Profeſſor much encourage *Smith* to read at all: Becauſe, as he told him, *Paris* did abound with Readers; and that there were many Lectures in Greek, tho' none of the beſt. He added, That that Perſon was honoured with Auditors in that City, not that did moſt learnedly explain his Author, but that could obtain the greateſt Favour, and was beſt known among the People. But yet the Profeſſor offered him, if he had Confidence of himſelf, that he might ſhew himſelf before the People. This cooled our Scholar; and now he objected, That he ſhould not tarry long there; and that there was another thing that diſcouraged him from Reading Greek: For that, he being a Stranger, and not well skilled either in the French Tongue, or the Cuſtoms, might expoſe himſelf to Envy; which is wont to accompany all them that profeſs ſomething different from the reſt. The Profeſſor asked what that was. *Smith* anſwered, His Pronunciation; which, he ſaid,

An. 1539. *K. Henry* 8.

And at Paris with Strazelius,

was almoſt quite different from theirs, which he heard there, eſpecially in ſome Letters and Diphthongs; to which, as he added, he had ſo accuſtomed himſelf, that he could not eaſily leave it, if he would; nor indeed would he, if he could; ſo near did it come to Truth, and the Uſe of the Ancients, and the Nature of Sounds; and now that he was accuſtomed to it, it ſeemed more pleaſant and eaſie. I underſtand, anſwered *Strazelius*, what you ſay to be that Pronunciation that *Eraſmus* purſued in a little Comment of his. That very Pronunciation, replied *Smith*. For it is moſt evident that this Pronunciation of yours is corrupt; and it is very eaſily proved, that the Ancients ſpoke otherwiſe, and made a Difference where now none at all appears. Then for Proof he produced that concerning ἀμμὰ, in *Ariſtophanes*, reſembling the bellowing of an Ox; and βὴ βὴ, out of *Suidas*, repreſenting the bleating of a Sheep: Which would not intimate either, if the former Word were read *Aminia*, and the latter *Bibi*, according to that preſent vulgar Pronouncing. And ſeveral other Authorities did *Smith* give, from whence he gathered, that the Sounds of the common Readers of Greek were not the ſame which the Ancients in *Greece* uſed. It is certain, ſaid *Strazelius*, there be many Reaſons and Conjectures in favour of what you urge, and that place out of *Ariſtophanes* is clear. Yet they that hold the contrary Opinion are not altogether deſtitute of Conjectures too. For my part, added the Profeſſor, I am contented with

An. 1539. K. *Henry* 8.

with the preſent Sound ſuch as it is. I have had no mind to ſtrive about any new Matter. And if you ſhould attempt any ſuch thing, I know not how they that ſhall hear you, would take it, having been always brought up in another way of Pronunciation. And to ſpeak freely (as he went on) theſe Conteſts about the Sounds of Words are Pedantic, and more fitting for School-maſters: We promiſe our ſelves, ſome greater things from you, whom we have heard to be well Verſed in all kind of Philoſophy. Nor would I have you in ſo ſlight a matter provoke them here, that of themſelves are too apt to envy the Praiſes of others. *Smith* acknowledged he counſelled him well, and like a Friend, and added, that he would wait till his Money came; and if it chanced, that he ſtayed any conſiderable time, ſeeing he was not bound to Read there, he would ſometimes, and according as he had leiſure, conſider upon theſe things. *An.* 1539 *K. Henry* 8

Smith, ſtill remaining in *Paris*, made a Viſit to a Learned *Greek*, that ſojourn'd at that time in *Bernard*'s Cloiſter, a Courteous and affable Man. His chief Buſineſs with him was to be ſatisfied from him what Sounds the *Grecians* themſelves in *Greece* did uſe. And by and by, when *Smith* began to ſpeak of the new way, the *Greek* grew angry, and called *Eraſmus Badin*, (a French Word, tho' otherwiſe he ſpake little French, and for the moſt part Italian) that he being a *Dutch*-man, had brought into *Greece*, whence they were *And a* Grecian.

sprung, such *vast Sounds*, as he expreſt himself, and *abſconcus Diphthongs*. The Diſpute between them could not hold long, becauſe *Smith* underſtood but little French, and the Greek Gentleman not much more, but Latin he underſtood not at all. And when he ſpake Greek, altho' he was a very Learned Man, yet he ſtuffed in ſo much of his vulgar Greek, that *Smith* could not well underſtand him. And ſo he departed from him.

An. 1539. *K. Henry* 8.

Travels to **Italy.**

From *France*, our Scholar proceeded forward towards *Italy*; and ſettled himſelf at *Padua*; ſtudying there for ſome time in the Civil Law, to qualify him for State Affairs, (for which the King deſigned him) and went out in the ſame Univerſity Doctor of that Faculty.

An. 1542.

Made Regius Profeſſor *of the Civil Law.*

Coming home, he retired to his old College a very accompliſhed Perſon. In the Year 1542. being now Thirty Years of Age, he took the Degree of Dr. of the Civil Law in *Cambridge*, and was made the King's Profeſſor in that Faculty, *Wiggin* being then the King's Profeſſor of Divinity, *Cheke* of the Greek Tongue, *Wakefield* of the Hebrew; and *Blith*, who had Married *Cheke*'s Siſter, of Phyſick.

A general Scholar.

As *Smith* had ſufficiently ſhewed himſelf a Grecian and an Orator; ſo his large mind prompted him to make himſelf Maſter of all other kinds of uſeful Learning. And he was reckoned the beſt Scholar in the Univerſity, not only for Rhetoric and the Learned Languages, but for Mathematicks, Arithmetick, Law,

Law, Natural and Moral Philoſophy: As one of the ſame Univerſity before mention'd, and that was not long after him in time, ſets out the common Vogue he bore there.

An. 1542. *K. Henry* 8.

Quis primus Rhetor? Smithus. *Quis maximus Hermes* Muſar. Lacrymæ.
Linguarum? Smithus. *Geometres?* Smithus *& idem.*
Summus Arithmeticus? Smithus. *Legumque peritus*
Ante alios? Smithus. *Phyſicus celeberrimus? Obe!*
Smithus *multiſcius. Morumque Vitæque Magiſter*
Optimus? Et Smithus.

Remaining in the Univerſity, he became Chancellor to *Goodric*, Biſhop of *Ely*: Who, being himſelf a Learned Man, and a favourer of the Goſpel, choſe ſuch Officers about him. Such another was Dr. *Cox*, who was his Chaplain; the ſame that was the firſt Inſtructor to Prince *Edward*, and after Dean of Chriſt's Church in *Oxford*, and Chancellor of that Univerſity; and at laſt Biſhop of *Ely*, under Queen *Elizabeth*.

Chancellor to the Biſhop of Ely.

Whilſt *Smith* lived in the College, he ſpent not his Time in Sloth and Eaſe, nor indulged himſelf to a lazy unprofitable Life, but made himſelf uſeful and ſerviceable to the Univerſity in many reſpects. One was in breeding up Young Men in Literature and good Manners, being his Pupils. Many of whom

Breeds up Pupils.

whom were of the beſt Rank and Quality. He
An. 1542. *K. Henry* 8. was Tutor to *Edward* Earl of *Oxford*, a Nobleman, who afterwards proved of excellent Abilities and Learning, but too much addicted to Prodigality. Sir *William Cecil*, Maſter of the Wards and Liveries, took this Young Nobleman, being a Ward, under his peculiar Care: And in the Family with him was alſo another Earl, namely of *Rutland*, being alſo a Ward. And when in the Year, 1563. Dr. *Smith*, (then a Knight) was the Queen's Ambaſſador in *France*, the ſaid *Cecil*, wrote him how the former Earl, whom he ſtiled *His Scholar*, had learned to underſtand French very well; and that he was deſirous to have an honeſt Qualified French-man to attend upon him, and the other Earl, for the Exerciſe and Speech of the Tongue. He directed *Smith*, that he ſhould be one honeſt in Religion, civil in Manners, learned in ſome Science, and not unperſonable. And if he were worthy L. or LX. Crowns by Year, he would be ruled by him, the ſaid *Smith*. And withal, he prayed him to provide ſome good Rider for theſe Noble Wards, (which Riders in thoſe days commonly were *Italians*) and he would give him xx *l.* by Year, if *Smith* ſhould ſo judge him worthy. And Sir *Thomas* was glad to be thus employed, to contribute to the generous Education of all Noble Youth, for the good of the Commonwealth, as well as of the Earl, that once had been his Pupil. Under him alſo was bred *John Ponet*, that Learned Man, who wrote many

many excellent Books, Mathematical, and other, became Chaplain to Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, and was preferred by King *Edward* VI. to be Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and after of *Wincheſter*. *An.* 1542. K. *Henry* 8.

Smith, was alſo, during his Reſidence in *Cambridge*, a great Refiner of the Engliſh Writing: Which to theſe times was too rough and unpoliſhed, and little care taken thereof, as may be ſeen by ſuch as converſe in the Writings of Men even of Learning in thoſe Days. He was noted to be one of the Three there, that were the great Maſters of the Engliſh Tongue. And ſo one of the florideſt Members of that Univerſity, wrote to his Correſpondent *John Sturmius* at *Strasburgh*, upon occaſion of a Book he had wrote in Engliſh of the Education of Children, called *Præceptor*, i. e. *The Schoolmaſter*. Which Argument, he ſaid, was not ſo dry and barren, *Quin Anglicè etiam* ἀνθηρογραφῆς, *poſſit, ſi in artificem aliquem, qualis fuit* Checus *noſter, & ſunt adhuc apud nos* Smithus Haddonus, *incidiſſet:* "But it might have been written "floridly in Engliſh, had it happened upon "ſome Artiſt, ſuch as *Cheke* was (who now "was gone) or *Smith* or *Haddon*, that ſtill "were with them at *Cambridge*: Being a "Language very capable of all the Ornaments "both of Words and Sentences. *Refines the Engliſh Writing.* *Aſcham.*

About, or near this Time it was, That *Smith* wrote a Tract concerning correct Writing of Engliſh, and the true ſounding of the Letters and Words. That which he found fault with in our Language was that ill and improper *A Tract by him writ for that purpoſe.*

per writing of it. As for inſtance in theſe
An. 1542. *K. Henry* 8. Words, *Pleaſe*, *Sonne*, *Moone*, *Hemme*, *Cleane*, *To*, *Toe*, *Meane*. In which Words, he ſaid, thoſe Sounds are not comprehended which we expreſs: And in ſome of them the Syllables are ſtuffed with needleſs Letters. Which Letters by themſelves have their certain Natures, as he obſerved, and that being joyned after that manner, have not that Force which they ought to have. And again, in other Words, he took notice we had no Letter which expreſt that which we ſpake, and therefore he thought it neceſſary to have more Letters. So he framed Twenty nine Letters: Whereof Nineteen were Roman, Four Greek, and Six Engliſh or Saxon. The Five Vowels he augmented into Ten, diſtinguiſhing them into Long and Short, making certain Accents over, or on the ſide of them, that were to be pronounced Long. It is worth ſeeing *Smith*'s new Alphabet, wherein might be obſerved that he allowed no Diphthongs, nor double Conſonants, nor any *E*'s at the end of Words, being not ſounded. He had a good mind to throw out utterly, and baniſh from the Alphabet the Letter Q. as uſeleſs, Ku expreſſing the full power of Qu, for without the Vowel U, the Letter Q is never written. And the ſame uſeleſneſs he found to be in the Letter C. for it is ever expreſſed either by K or by S. But he retained it in his Alphabet to ſerve inſtead of Ch. This Alphabet may be found
Numb. II. in the *Appendix*.

And as he promoted the refining of the uſe

of

of the *Engliſh* Tongue, ſo alſo of the *Greek*, together with *Cheke*, Profeſſor alſo of that Language after him: Who laboured to amend and rectifie the evil and falſe way of pronouncing divers Conſonants, Vowels and Diphthongs. What this untoward way of reading Greek was, we may in part gueſs at by one Word, *viz.* Κυβέρνω· which was commonly ſounded, *Chiverno*: Wherein, as *Aſcham* ſhewed to *Hubert*, a Learned Foreigner, in a Diſſertation with him upon this Argument, there were no leſs than three erroneous Soundings in three Letters, κ, υ, β. In ſhort, αι, οι, ει, & υι, & η & υ, were not diſtinguiſhed from the ſound of ἰῶτα· But all had one and the ſame ſound of I, as was ſhewn before.

An. 1542. *K. Henry* 8.

Rectifies the Pronunciation of Greek.

This proved a great Academic Controverſy. For tho' for four Years, *Smith*'s new way of reading *Greek* was quietly and gladly received, yet afterwards by the means of ſome turbulent Men, it received great Oppoſition. And certain there were that began to make a great Hubbub againſt it, and againſt *Cheke*, who was now by the King his Maſter appointed his Reader of Greek. For to fetch the Matter a little backward, about the Year 1539. near the Time of *Smith*'s departure to travel, the King's Greek Lecture was committed to *Cheke*, He, in the beginning of his Lecture, the better to prepare the Minds of his Auditors to receive true benefit by his Readings, declaimed for ſix Days together concerning the more correct ſound of Letters. But on a ſudden, one

A Controverſy ariſes in the Univerſity hereupon.

Cheke *Greek Lecturer.*

one *Ratecliff*, a Scholar in the Univerſity, ſtood up and declared that he would oppoſe him; being inſtigated by ſuch, as had no more Wit than himſelf. *Cheke* had no need to fear him, whom all knew underſtood little Greek, and whom none thought a Man fit to be refuted, or dealt with as a conſiderable Adverſary. Yet ſome were for hearing him, to make Sport. The Magiſtrate, to whom the Scurrility of the Man was well known, thought he ought in time to be reſtrained. Nevertheleſs he went up to read ſomewhat, and having ſpoke a little, he was ſo laugh'd at by the Boys, ſo exploded and hiſſed, and ſo toſſed in the Crowd which came together in a great Aſſembly to laugh rather than to hear, that his own Friends were aſhamed of him; and he himſelf repented him of his Folly; tho' he had but *little Modeſty and leſs Brains*, according as *Smith* deſcribed him; for I have related all this from his Book. But *Ratecliff*'s Setters on brought this Matter to Biſhop *Gardiner* the Chancellor, and told the Tale ſo fairly on his Side, that the Biſhop afterwards objected this Man and his Reading unto *Cheke*'s Party. But, ſaith *Smith*, his Lordſhip had never done this, had they, who named him to the Biſhop, declared what kind of Man he was, of what Wit, of what Nature, of what Prudence, Gravity, Modeſty and Learning; that is to ſay, none at all. After this Fellow was gone, there was Peace, Quiet and Silence concerning theſe Matters, and in great fervor and induſtry the Youth of

An. 1542. K. *Henry* 8.

Frontis nihil & Cerebri parum.

of *Cambridge* Learned Greek, until the Bi-
ſhop's Decree, which we ſhall hear of by and by.

An. 1542. *K. Henry* 8.

But all the blame of this new Pronuncia-
tion lay upon *Cheke*. He was the Man now cried out againſt as arrogant, proud and daring, and guilty of high Crimes: And the Chancellor rebuked him. And all the Storm that light upon *Smith* all this while was, that he was accuſed to have been an Abetter, and one that approved of *Cheke*'s Doings. But *Smith* was not afraid of all this Noiſe, and generouſly took the thing upon himſelf, that he might take off ſome of the *Odium* from his Friend *Cheke*. And ſo he freely told the Chancellor, "I was his Fellow "and Partaker in this Matter; "nay, I was the Head I "ſuffer it not to be derived "upon others, but I take it in "a great part to my ſelf. And "that becauſe as I have always "eſteemed it the part of a "ſubdued and great Mind, to "be negligent of Glory and "Praiſe, ſo but a trick of "Treachery and Sloth, to for-"ſake a Friend in Danger. I "hold him of a mean and abject Spirit, that "cannot bear the Envy that attends worthy "Actions: And I judge that Man but a wily "Knave, who, when he can do it, will "conceal himſelf, and ſuffer others to de-"fend what he hath done.

Cheke *clamoured againſt for it.*

Quia moderati & magni animi eſſe putavi Laudem ac Gloriam negligere, perfidi & ignavi, amicum in periculis deſerere. Humilem & dejectum hominem existimo, qui ex rectè factis Invidiam non poſſe ferre. Veteratorem ac ſenilis Ingenij virum judico, qui cum ipſe præſtare poſſit, contegi ſe, ac ſuum factum, ab aliis patiatur defendi.

Now

An. 1542. *K. Henry* 8.

Now did Biſhop *Gardiner*, the Chancellor of the Univerſity interpoſe his Authority. For being againſt all Innovation, as well as Innovation in Religion, and obſerving theſe Endeavours in *Cambridge*, of introducing a more correct and true Pronunciation of the Greek, and this, by ſuch as he ſuſpected to be no Friends to the old Papal Superſtitions, he made a ſolemn Decree againſt this new Way, and that the old ſhould be inviolably obſerved by all the Scholars for the Time to come. *Cheke* was very earneſt with the Chancellor to allow of theſe rectified Sounds, and ſuperſede and wink at his former Decree; but he would by no means alter it, and peremptorily enjoyned him to read the Greek after the ancient rude way, urging to him the great Evil and Danger of Innovation.

The Decree of the Chancellor.

About this time it was, that Dr. *Smith*, upon this or ſome other occaſion, repaired to the Biſhop then at the Court at *Hampton* Court, and ſeeing his Reſolution, thought not fit to ſtir the Coals, but after a mild and ingenious way, told the Biſhop, that for his part he could read both ways, the new and the old, that he might offend none for ſuch a matter, as a particular Mode of pronouncing was. That he knew, *Balbutire, modo idem ſiquando uſus ſit expeditè loquatur, etiam laudi dandum eſt*, that is, " That even Stammering deſerved Praiſe, if ſo be he that " did ſo, when need was, would ſpeak " ſmoothly: According to that of the Apoſtle,

Smith's Compliance.

" ſtle, *I am Debtor both to Fools and Wiſe*, Thus pleaſingly did *Smith* comply with the Biſhop, and yet tacitly gave him a Reproof for his obſtinate urging ſo blame-worthy a Thing, and checking ſo laudable an Enterprize. *An.* 1542 *K. Henry* 8.

Smith's mind ſtill was the ſame. For when he came home, (which was about the Month of *July*) he recollected his Diſcourſe with the Biſhop, and the Biſhops with him; and in a large and eloquent Epiſtle, privately ſent to him, argued with much freedom the Points in Controverſy between them. Which Epiſtle, (full of Excellent Learning) conſiſted of three parts. In the firſt, he ſhewed what was to be called true and right in the whole Method of Sounds and Pronunciation, and retrieved this from the common and preſent Uſe, and out of the hands both of the Ignorant and Learned that lived at that time, and placed it with the Ancients; reſtoring to them their Right and Authority, propounding them as the beſt and only Pattern in the whole Caſe of the Greek Tongue to be imitated by all Poſterity. In the ſecond, he compared the old and the new Pronunciation with that Pattern, that the Chancellor might ſee whether of the two came nearer thereunto, or ſtrayed fartheſt from it. That ſo by this, Judgment might appear, what was to be corrected, and what followed. In the third Part, he explained by the Story of the paſt time the whole Account of his Doing in this Affair, that his Lordſhip might underſtand, that if there were nothing therein worthy to be *His Epiſtle to the Biſhop upon this Argument.*

An. 1542. *K. Henry* 8.

commended, nothing at leaſt deſerved to be reproved. Concluding with all Deference and profound Reſpect to this haughty Man, (for his Temper *Smith* very well knew) in theſe Words: " However the Matter falls " out, we will remain at your Command. " To your Authority I ſhall ever attribute as " much as any Student of Law (as *Smith* was) " ought to give to a moſt Learned Prelate, " and Chancellor of an Univerſity. And ſo " much I ſhall yield unto your Arguments " as the truth of the Cauſe, and the weight " of Reaſons ſhall require. But in every " thing we ſhall according to our Power " maintain our Duty to you, gently reſpect " and obey our Magiſtrate, and ardently Love " your Lordſhip. From *Cambridge*, *Auguſt* " the 12th, 1542. This Epiſtle he afterwards, while he was Ambaſſador at *Paris*, cauſed to be Printed there in *Quarto*, *Anno* 1568. Intitled, *De recta & emendata Linguæ Græcæ Pronunciatione*: Together with his other Tract of the right Sounding and Writing of Engliſh. Both Printed in Latin by *Robert Stevens*, the French-King's Printer, in one Volume.

A late Profeſſor of Baſil, ſtands up for the old Sounds.

To conclude this Matter, I cannot omit to mention, that however correct this new way of Pronouncing Greek was, and generally afterwards received, a late Learned Profeſſor of that Language in *Baſil*, named *Witſtein*, made an Oration in that Univerſity, lately Printed, to confute it, and to revive the old exploded Sounds.

And

And as he was thus uſeful to Learning in the Univerſity, ſo he was alſo to Religion. He was bred up in the Proteſtant Doctrine (a pretty rare matter in thoſe Times) and he never flinched from it. All his Kindred of his Father's ſide were neither Neutrals nor Papiſts (as he wrote ſomewhere of himſelf) all enclining to the Truth and Goſpel, Old and Young, and ſo known and noted. This he wrote to ſome, becauſe certain Backbiters in King *Edward*'s Days had charged him to have been a Neutral. The Reaſon whereof ſeemed to be becauſe he did not run ſo faſt in the Reformation under that King, as ſome Hotſpurs would have him, who knew not what the matter meant. For he was publickly known to be a Proteſtant in the time of King *Henry* VIII. living then in *Cambridge*, and being there in place of Eminence, when the Biſhop of *Winchester*, the Chancellor of that Univerſity, was ſevere towards thoſe that profeſſed the Goſpel, and threatned Fire and Faggot-bearing; *Smith* publickly defended them, and oppoſed thoſe rigorous Methods, and ſtaved off many. And this he did before all *Cambridge*, and all the Juſtices of Peace in the Shire, and ſaved many, and ſo continued. He ſtood up and pleaded for the Profeſſors and Profeſſion of the Goſpel publickly, both in the Univerſity before all the Learned Men; and not only ſo, but in the Convocation before all the Biſhops, and in the Parliament-Houſe before the Lords and Commons, as he writ in Vindication of himſelf.

An. 1542. K. *Henry* 8. *Religion promoted by him in the Univerſity.*

An. 1546. K. *Henry* 8.

He addreſſeth to the Queen in behalf of Cambridge.

And being a Man of Reputation among them, the Univerſity made uſe of him once as their Meſſenger and Advocate to the Court, to addreſs to Queen *Katharine Par*; to whom he brought their Letters, beſeeching her Interceſſion to the King on their behalf, being now, as they apprehended, in imminent Jeopardy. For the Parliament in the 37th, that is, the laſt Year of that King's Reign, had given him all the Colleges in the Kingdom; whereat the Univerſity was ſore afraid. Dr. *Smith* repaired to that good Queen, entreating her to prevail with his Majeſty, that not withſtanding the late Act, they might enjoy their Poſſeſſions as before. And ſhe did, as ſhe was a true Lover and Patroneſs of Learning and Religion, effectually apply to the King, and had her Requeſt in that behalf granted; and to that purport ſhe wrote her Letters to the Univerſity, of which *Smith* was alſo the Bringer; wherein ſhe called him their *Diſcreet and Learned Advocate*; and having admoniſh them, that ſhe would have their Univerſity to be an Univerſity of Divine Philoſophy, as well as of Natural or Moral, ſhe let them underſtand that ſhe had according to their Deſire, attempted her Lord the King's Majeſty for the ſtay of their Poſſeſſions; And,

" That notwithſtanding his Majeſty's Property
" and Intereſt through the Conſent of the
" High Court of Parliament, his Highneſs was
" ſuch a Patron of good Learning, that he
" would rather add, and erect new occaſion
" therefore, than confound thoſe their Colle-

" ges.

" ges. So that Learning might hereafter a-
" ſcribe her very Original, whole Conſerva-
" tion and ſure Stay to our Sovereign Lord,
as ſhe expreſſed her ſelf. *An.* 1546. K. *Henry* 8.

In his publick Academical Performances he acquitted himſelf with wonderful Applauſe and Admiration of all the Hearers. And at a Commencement, which happened, as near as I can gueſs, this Year, being now the King's Profeſſor, both his Diſputations and his Determinations were ſuch, that *Haddon*, a good Judge, in a Letter to Dr. *Cox*, (giving him ſome Account of that Commencement, told him, " That " had he been there, he would have heard ano-
" ther *Socrates*; and that he caught the forward
" Diſputants as it were in a Net with his Que-
" ſtions, and that he concluded the profound
" Cauſes of Philoſophy with great Gravity
" and deep Knowledge. *His Academical Exerciſes.*

Dr. *Smith*'s Places and Preferments in *Cambridge* and elſewhere, as they brought him in tolerably fair Incomes, ſo they, together with his Eminent Vertue and Learning, reconciled him great Reſpect. For he had the Lecture in the Civil Law, being the King's Profeſſor in that Science; for which he received 40 *l. per Annum*. He was Chancellor to the Biſhop of *Ely*, which was worth to him 50 *l. per Annum*. Beſides, he had a Benefice, *viz.* of *Leverington* in *Cambridgeſhire*, which came to the Value of 36 *l. per Annum*. So that his Preferments amounted to 120 *l.* a Year, and upwards. And ſuch a good Husband he was, that he made ſome Purchaſes before, and ſome *His Preferments, while at Cambridge.*

An. 1546. *K. Henry* 8.

ſoon after his leaving the Univerſity, as we ſhall hear by and by.

His Port.

And this was the Port he lived in before his leaving of *Cambridge*. He kept Three Servants, and Three Guns, and Three Winter Geldings. And this ſtood him in 30 *l. per Annum*, together with his own Board.

CHAP. IV.

Smith *is removed into the Protector's Family: His Preferments under King* Edward: *Made Secretary: Goes an Embaſſie.*

An. 1547. *K. Edw.* 6.

DOCTOR *Smith* was often at King *Henry*'s Court, and taken notice of by that King, and was growing ſo dear to him, as to be received in Place and Office under him, had he lived a little longer. But ſoon after K. *Henry*'s Death he was removed from *Cambridge* into the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Family; where he was employed in Matters of State by that Great Man, the Uncle and Governour of the King, and Protector of his Realms. Into whoſe Family were received many other very Learned and Pious Men.

Comes to Court.

Addreſſed to by the Univerſity.

Long he had not been here, but the Univerſity earneſtly addreſs'd to him to ſtand their Friend in ſome certain weighty Matter, wherein not any ſingle Cauſe of theirs was in hazard,

zard, but themſelves and their All. Which, without Queſtion, was the Danger the Univerſity was in upon the Bill in Agitation in the Parliament-Houſe, for giving the King the Chauntries, Hoſpitals, Fraternities and Colleges; which laſt Word took in the Societies of the Univerſities. At which they look'd about them, and made all the Friends they could at Court to ſave themſelves. And as they applied now to *Cheke*, ſo to *Smith* alſo in this elegant Latin Epiſtle, which was drawn up by the exquiſite Pen of *Aſcham* their Orator; wherein may be obſerved what a general Opinion there went of his compleat Learning:

An. 1547. *K. Edw.* 6.

Their Letter.

SI tu is es, Clariſſime SMITHE, *in quem Academia hæc Cantabrigienſis univerſas vires ſuas, univerſa Pietatis jura exercuerit, ſi tibi uni omnia Doctrinæ ſuæ genera, omnia Reipub. Ornamenta libentiſſimè contulerit, ſi fructum gloriæ ſuæ in te uno jactaverit, ſi ſpem Salutis ſuæ in te potiſſimùm repoſuêrit: Age ergo, & mente & cogitatione tua complectere, quid tu vicißim illi debes, quid illa, quid Literæ, quid Reſpublica, quid Deus ipſe pro tantis Pietatis officiis, quibus ſic Dignitas tua efflorueſcit, juſtiſſimè requirit: Academia nil debet tibi, imo omnia ſua in te transfudit. Et propterea abs te non ſimpliciter petit Beneficium, ſed meritò*

An. 1547. K. *Edw.* 6.

meritò repetit Officium : nec unam aliquam causam tibi proponit, sed sua omnia, & seipsam tibi committit. Nec sua necesse habet aperire tibi consilia, quorum recessus & diverticula nôsti universa. Age igitur quod scis, & velis quod potes, & perfice quod debes. Sic Literis, Academiæ, Reipublicæ, & Religioni ; sic Christo & Principi rem debitam & expectatam efficies. JESUS te diutissimè servet incolumem.

And this Address had the Success it desired: For the Colleges of the Universities, and the other Colleges of Learning in the Nation, were spared by a Proviso, tho' the aforesaid Bill pass'd into an Act; which we must attribute, in good measure, to *Smith* and his Party stirring in the House to bring it to pass.

Made Master of Requests to Somerset.

The Lord Protector had set up an Office in his House of a Master of Requests, for the better care-taking of poor Mens Sutes, and for the more effectual speeding them without the Delays and Charges of Law. In this Office was Dr. *Smith* placed, and seems to have been the second Master of Requests to the Protector, as *Cecil* was the first.

Other Dignities conferred on him.

While he was in the Service of this great Duke, he obtained divers other considerable Places: As to be Steward of the Stannaries, *Smith* being an excellent Metallist and Chymist: Provost of *Eaton* College, wherewith he was very well pleased; where, whether he were

were preſent or abſent, there was always good Hoſpitality kept: Dean of the Cathedral Church of *Carliſle*, being at leaſt in Deacons Orders. And at laſt, Secretary of State to the King with a Knighthood. *An.* 1547. *K. Edw.* 6.

By this time he had purchaſed two Houſes; one in *Channon-Row*: Which he bought for Two hundred Mark of Sir *Ralph Sadleir*, ſometime Secretary of State to King *Henry*, which he Let to Mr. Comptroller for 30 *l. per Ann.* And here he lived himſelf in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*: And this was the Houſe where the Commiſſioners met in the firſt Year of that Queen, to conſult for the Reformation of Religion, and preparing the Book of Common-Prayer. His other Houſe was in *Philpot-lane London*, where his younger Brother a Merchant lived. It was a large and fair Houſe. He bought it of certain Executors, but the Title being doubtful, whether the King had not a Right in it, he procured of his Lord the Duke to ſpeak to the King in his behalf. To this Houſe alſo another pretended. But the Conteſt between Sir *Thomas*, and that other was referred: And ſo in the End Sir *Thomas* enjoyed it. He alſo purchaſed the Mannor of *Yarlington* in *Somerſetſhire*, worth 30 *l. per Ann.* of the Marquis of *Northampton*, it being given to him at the Coronation of Queen *Katharine* his Siſter. This Coſt *Smith* 300 *l.* or thereabouts, being Money that he had gotten at *Cambridge*, before he came into the Protectors Service, and lent to his Brother the Merchant. Of the *His Purchaſes.*

Com-

Commiſſioners for the Chauntries, he alſo bought the College of *Darby*, which went at 33 *l. per Ann.* which Coſt him a Thouſand Marks. Which was the Portion he had with his Wife.

An. 1547. *K. Edw.* 6.

Marries. For while he lived in the Dukes Family, he Married his firſt Wife, named *Elizabeth*, Daughter of *William Karkek*, or *Carkyke*, of *London*, Gentleman: Whoſe Siſter *Anne*, after Married to Sir *Thomas Chamberlayn*, long Embaſſador Reſident in *Flanders* and *Spain*: *Smith*'s Lady was a little Woman, and one that affected not fine, gaudy Cloths, for which ſhe was taxed by ſome. And by this, one might rather judge her to have been a Woman of Prudence and Religion, and that affected Retirement rather than the ſplendor of a Court. For Dr. *Smith* allowed her what ſhe pleaſed: And ſhe was his Caſh-keeper.

Marries again. However, he uſed to wear goodly Apparel, and went like a Courtier himſelf. For which he ſaid, that ſome might ſeem to have cauſe rather to accuſe him to go too ſumptuouſly, than her of going too meanly. This Wife he buried, having no Iſſue by her: And Married a ſecond, named *Philippa*, the Relict of Sir *John Hambden*, who out-lived him, Whoſe Joynture was *Hill-Hall*. Of this Wife it was that Secretary *Cecil* ſpake, when in the Year 1565. *Smith* having been Ambaſſador in *France*, and earneſtly deſiring to come home, the ſaid Secretary wrote him word that his Wife ſhould either ſpeak or ſend to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, that he would diſpatch

diſpatch Mr. *Thomas Hoby*, whom the Queen had determined to ſend Ambaſſador in his Room, but delayed it. *Ann.* 1547. *K. Edw.* 6.

But we are yet to look upon *Smith* as one of the Protector's Family; where he flouriſhed in Places and Honours, as we heard before: Yet he had his Share of Trouble and Sorrow; as, the Anger of his haughty Miſtriſs, the Dutcheſs of *Somerſet*; and many unjuſt Imputations that were raiſed againſt him, whereto ſhe gave too much Credit. Which was the Cauſe of a large Letter, which he addreſs'd unto her: Wherein he vindicated himſelf, againſt many Slanders which were told the Dutcheſs; whereof ſhe had twitted him in the Teeth, as Things the World took notice of in him: Namely, *I.* Haughtineſs, and a diſregardful, proud Temper. *II.* That he was Oppreſſive; and had, by Extortion and Griping, got a great deal of Money. *III.* Covetouſneſs. *IV.* That he bought and ſold Benefices, or Spiritual Promotions. Add to theſe, That he was a Chopper and Changer of Lands: That his Wife went not in ſo Courtly a Garb as was fitting: That he kept no Houſe: And, That he was a Neuter in Religion. But theſe were mere Aſperſions, and malicious Inſinuations; his generous Mind ever abhorring any thing that was baſe and unjuſt, or unworthy of a Man, and a Chriſtian Philoſopher. And theſe Calumnies he wiped off, aſſoiling one Particular after another, in his ſaid Letter to the Dutcheſs. Indeed, ſhe was an Imperious and Ill-natur'd Woman, *He is ſlandered.*

Woman, and had taken ſome Occaſion to fall out with him; and in her Paſſion, it ſeems, had caſt out theſe Reports before him.

An. 1547. K. Edw. 6.

Suffers Impriſonment with the Duke.

But *Smith* was a true and faithful Servant of the Duke; and in his Troubles, ſuffer'd with him: For he was taken up with him; and, among thoſe that were ſent with the Duke, to the *Tower*, Sir *Thomas* was one: Tho' afterwards, his Innocency appearing, he was delivered, and eſcaped thoſe ſevere Handlings that ſome of the Duke's Friends and Retainers underwent.

1548.

Made Secretary.

In the Year 1548, Dr. *Smith* was advanced to be Secretary of State; as in *September*, the ſame Year, *William Cecil*, Eſq; was preferred to the like Office; both having been Servants to the Protector. *Smith* was made uſe of for the Reformation of Religion, which was now going in hand with in good earneſt, as he was afterwards in all the ſteps of it.

Goes Ambaſſador.

In the Month of *July*, the ſame Year, 1548, he, with Mr. *Chamberlain*, went Ambaſſador to *Bruſſels*, to the Emperor's Council there: Which was, I think, the firſt Embaſſy he underwent. The Buſineſs of the State, in ſending him at this time, was, the great Apprehenſions from *France*, who had poſſeſſed themſelves of *Scotland*, and ſo were a very formidable Enemy: And the more ſo, becauſe they were ſo near. But to provide againſt them as well as the King could, he endeavoured to ſtop them from the Uſe of the Ports of the *Low-Countries*, which were moſt commodious for

for *Scotland*. Then *Smith* obtained ſo much from the Emperors Counſellors of the ſaid *Low-Countries*: Tho' the Promiſe was not ſo well made good; for, in the latter end of this ſame Year, both *French* and *Scots* came from *Scotland*, and were landed and diſcharged at *Dunkirke*. Which cauſed another Embaſſy in *January*, by Sir *Philip Hoby*, from the *Engliſh* Court, to the Emperor, complaining of this; and ſhewing how the Emperor's Counſellors in the *Low-Countries* had declared to Mr. Secretary *Smith*, at the Court there, That the *French*'s going into *Scotland*, or returning thence, ſhould have no manner of Favour or Reception at any of the Emperor's Ports. This was one of the Buſineſſes of this Embaſſy; but the chief Matter indeed, and End thereof, was, for the Raiſing of Soldiers in thoſe Parts; which they did, to the Number of 2000; and obtained the Emperor's Leave for Paſſing of them. There is a Letter of *Smith*'s, remaining in the *Cotton*-Library, to the Protector, while he was now Ambaſſador at *Bruſſels*; wherein may be perceived the Purport of his Embaſſy, with other News of the Affairs of the World; and was as enſueth: (And I the rather ſet it down, to preſerve what Monuments we can of this excellent Man.)

Ann. 1548. *K. Edw.* 6.

Galba, B. 12.

Pleaſeth it Your Grace to be adverti ſed,

Smith's *Letter to the Protector.*

"THat We received Your Grace's Letters "the xijth of *July*, with the good "News of the State of Our Things in *Scot-* "*land*: For the which We moſt highly thank "Almighty

Ann. 1548. *K. Edw.* 6.

" Almighty God, and Your Grace. And as
" We do not a little rejoice at them our Selves,
" ſo We ſhall not fail to communicate them,
" as Occaſion ſhall occurr, where it ſhall be
" convenient. And ſurely, they here have
" Eſpials in *Scotland*, as well as We, and be
" not ignorant of our Affairs there. Never-
" theleſs, as they pretend at the leaſt, they
" be very glad to hear them of us. The Ru-
" mour runneth here ſtill, that Mr. *Chamber-*
" *lain*, and an Ambaſſador, came hither to
" take up Men: And hereupon hath ſome
" Offer been made unto us; but ſuch as We
" could not like."

" Yeſterday came to us a certain *Almain*,
" who brought to *Yarmouth*, I ſuppoſe, an
" Enſign of Foot-men in the King's Days that
" dead is: He liked ſo well his Pay then, as
" he ſaith, He would gladly ſerve the King,
" before any other Prince. We ſaid, Winter
" was now very near: Nevertheleſs, if he
" would write his Offer, We would adver-
" tiſe Your Grace, and know further Your
" Pleaſure. He is, one *Groning* in *Frizeland*.
" What Your Grace's Pleaſure ſhall be, that
" We ſhall anſwer him, and all ſuch, we re-
" quire Your Grace to know, ſo ſoon as con-
" veniently You may. This Man ſaith, If his
" Requeſt be too much, he will be content
" Your Grace ſhall mitigate it as ſhall pleaſe
" You. He is of the Land of *Conte de Bury*;
" and ſaith, He hath communicated the Mat-
" ter with *Scepperius*, [the Emperor's Admiral;]
" and he giveth him good Counſel, that the

" Queen

" Queen [Regent of *Flanders*] will give him
" Licenſe.

An. 1548.
K. *Edw.* 6.

" Two Merchants of *Antwerp*, lately coming from *Auguſt*, [*Augsburgh*,] ſaith, That " there the Emperor compelleth every Man, " to this *Interim*; and that ſome of the Cities grudging at it, he hath referred the " Anſwer to *Norenburgh*: But that it is not " doubted there, but that *Norenburgh* will do as " the Emperor will have them. They ſhewed " further, that the Emperor would have them " build up their Monaſteries again, and Abbeys, and all ſuch things: And all ſtandeth " upon that Anſwer of *Norenburgh*. Further, " The Emperor hath already ſent 4000 Horſemen to lie about *Strasburgh*; and that he " doth intend ſhortly to come thither, and to " aſſay the *Switzers*. Nevertheleſs, they ſaid, " That at this Counſil was none of the *Switzers*, but only of *B.* [*Berne*, or *Baſil.*] They " ſhewed alſo, that there was a Saying, that " the Emperor and the *French* King intended to " part the *Switzers* between them, of Agreement, as they ſaid. But if that be, it is more " like to make Wars, than to have any long " Amity after that ſort, *&c.* Thus, having " none other Thing worthy of Advertiſement " to write to Your Grace, I commit the ſame " to Almighty God.

Your Grace's

From Bruſſels, July *ſixth*

Moſt Bounden Orator, and Servant,

T. Smith.

Ann. 1548. K. *Edw.* 6.

Our Ambaſſador *Smith* came home again in *September*, leaving *Chamberlain* Reſident at that Court.

Smith *concerned in the Alteration of Religion;*

About this Time, (or, perhaps, ſomewhat before,) Letters paſſed between ſome Counſellors, touching the weighty Matter of Altering the Religion: And in this *Smith* was concerned; one of whoſe Letters relating to this Affair, yet remains in the Paper-Houſe.

And Redreſs of baſe Money.

When Baſe Moneys, as Teſtons, (coined in great Quantities, under King *Henry* VIII.) and other Pieces were, near this Time, under Conſultation to be redreſſed, *Smith* alſo was made uſe of in this; and wrote a Letter to the Lord Protector, touching the Benefit ariſing by the Mint, while ſuch Moneys were coined, to give the better Light unto this Work that was now going in hand with.

CHAP. V.

Sir Thomas Smith *in Commiſſion: Words between Biſhop* Boner *and him: His Fidelity to the Duke of* Somerſet.

An. 1549.

IF we trace Sir *Thomas Smith* in the enſuing Year, *viz.* 1549, we ſhall find him employed in certain Commiſſions of Importance.

Smith *in a Commiſſion againſt Anabaptiſts.*

An Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion in the Beginning of this Year was iſſued out, for the Examination

Examination of *Anabaptiſts* and *Arians*, that began now to ſpring up apace and ſhew themſelves more openly. Sir *Thomas* was one of theſe Commiſſioners (for he was much employed in the Matters of Religion) jointly with the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Thirlby*, Biſhop of *Weſtminſter*, Dr. *Cox*, Dean of *Weſtminſter*, Dr. *May*, Dean of St. *Paul*'s, and Dr. *Cooke*, Dean of the Arches. Who ſat in Judgment upon divers of theſe Hereticks in that part of St. *Paul*'s Church, commonly called *The Altar of our Lady*.

An. 1549 *K. Edw.* 6

A Viſitation being inſtituted this Summer by the King for the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, he was appointed one of the Viſitors; in conjunction with *Ridley*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *May*, Dean of St. *Paul*'s, Sir *John Cheke*, and Dr. *Wendy*, the King's Phyſician. The Buſineſs of this Viſitation was to aboliſh ſuch Statutes and Ordinances as maintained Papiſtry, Superſtition, Blindneſs and Ignorance, and to eſtabliſh and ſet forth ſuch as might further God's Word and Good Learning: Our *Smith*, with the Dean of St. *Paul*'s, a little before Eaſter acquainted Biſhop *Ridley* with it, by ſending him a Letter to *Rocheſter*, and deſiring him to make a Sermon at the Opening of the ſaid Viſitation.

One of the Viſitors of Cambridge.

Another Commiſſion dated in *September* from the King was iſſued out to Sir *Thomas Smith*, together with four more, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, Sir *William Petre*, and *May*, Dean of St. *Paul*'s, to take Tryal and Examination of *Boner*,

In Commiſſion upon Biſhop Boner.

An. 1549. K. *Edw.* 6.

Bishop of *London*, for certain Incompliances, and Disobediences to the King's proceedings in Religion. Sir *Thomas* was Able and Bold, and one that sincerely wished well to a Reformation of corrupt Religion. This Commissioner of all the rest, *Boner* seemed most to regret, and set himself in opposition against. His first Quarrel against him was, that because he sat not at the beginning, when the Commission was first opened and read, therefore he ought not to be a Commissioner at all. For by the Law, said *Boner*, they that first began, must continue the Commission. But *Smith* told him, that as cunning as he made himself in the Law, for his part he had studied the Law too; and that these were but Quiddities, and Quirks invented to delay Matters. But the Commission was to procede summarily, *Et de plano*, and to cut off all frivolous Allegations. And when at this same Session, the Bishop demanded somewhat of the Commissioners upon pretence of Law, that was not convenient to be granted; Secretary *Smith*, seeing that his Device was meerly to deferr and elude the main Business, told him plainly, he asked he knew not what; and that the Bishop would have had them to humour him, and to be lead according to his mind in these Quiddities; whereas all was for no other intent but to delay Justice. And that herein he did all one with Thieves, Murtherers and Traitors, that the Truth might not be known, to prevent their Shame and Condemnation. Which plain-dealing did more

Boner would decline him.

more and more provoke that proud Biſhop. And thoſe Expreſſions of the Secretary he could never forgive, but was continually pelting at him, and declining him as none of his Judge. *An.* 1549. *K. Edw.* 6.

The great intent of this Commiſſion was to examine him concerning a Sermon, which was appointed him by the Council to Preach touching the King's Authority in his tender Age to Adminiſter the Government, and make Laws. In which the Biſhop prevaricated, not ſpeaking home to that neceſſary Point to the ſatisfaction of the People; but running out upon the Subject of the *Real Preſence*. Concerning which, when the Commiſſioners could not bring him to confeſs whether in that Sermon he omitted that Article or no, ſhifting it off by his uncertain Speeches, other Articles were drawn up for him to anſwer to by Oath: Which *Smith* told him he muſt not dally with as he had done hitherto. And that tho' he had made his Anſwers by writing after his wary and obſcure way, yet now he ſhould be examined by them, and make anſwer by Mouth to the ſame Article, or do that which was worſe, namely, go to the Tower. I do not indeed, added he, diſcommend your Proteſtations and Terms of Law, if it were in a young Proctor, in the managing of his Clients Cauſe; but in you it may not be ſuffered ſo to uſe the King's Commiſſioners. *Smith deals roundly with him.*

When the Biſhop was next to appear before the Commiſſioners, he ſent two of his Ser- *Smith's Words to Boner's Servant.*

vants to excuſe his not coming before them
An. 1549. *K. Edw.* 6. by reaſon of Sickneſs. But the Secretary knowing well his former ways of Delay and Baffling the Commiſſioners, doubted of the Truth hereof: And therefore told the Meſſengers roundly, that becauſe he ſhould not deceive them as he had done, they would ſend the Knight-Marſhal unto him, who ſhould have Order, if he were Sick indeed to let him alone, for that he ſaid, was a reaſonable Excuſe; but if he were not Sick, to bring him forthwith; for that he ſhould not do as he had done; nor would they take it at his Hands. Mr. *Johnſon*, added the Secretary, (he was one of the Biſhop's Servants that brought his Meſſage) you do the part of a truſty Servant as becomes you; but it is your part alſo to ſhew my Lord of his ſtubborn Heart and Diſobedience, which doth him more harm than he is aware of. What? Doth he think to ſtand with the King in his own Realms? Is this the part of a Subject? Nay, I ween, we ſhall have a new *Thomas Becket*. Let him take heed, for if he play theſe parts, he may fortune to be made ſhorter by the Head. And, whereas the Biſhop was all for diſowning theſe Commiſſioners, and appealing from him, the Secretary ſubjoyned, he may Appeal if he think good. But whither? To the Biſhop of *Rome*? So he may help himſelf forwards. I ſay, he can appeal but to the ſame King, who hath made us his Judges, and to the Bench of his Council. And how they will take this Matter, when

when they hear of it, I doubt not. He would make Men believe that he were called before us for Preaching his Opinion of the Sacrament. Wherein I assure you he did but falsely and naughtily, yea, and leudly, and more than became him, and more than he had in Commandment to do. For he was not willed to speak of that Matter, and perhaps he may hear more of that hereafter: But at present that was not laid to his Charge. *An.* 1549. K. *Edw.* 6.

Sir *Thomas* thus using to deal with him, in many Sessions held for his Examination, and not suffering him to dally out the Matter, and sometime taking the liberty to reprove him, the Bishop at last made a solemn, large and formal Recusation of this Commissioners Judgment; Exhibiting it in Writing at his next appearance; which may be read at length in Mr. *Fox*'s Acts and Monuments. *pag.* 1205. In which Recusation, *Boner* shewed, how the Secretary had charged him with dealing with the Commissioners as Thieves, Murtherers and Traitors would have done. But notwithstanding this Recusation, the Secretary told him that he would proceeed in his Commission, and would be his Judge still, until he were otherwise inhibited. "And where you "say, proceeded *Smith*, in your Recusation, "that I said you did like Thieves, Murthe- "rers and Traitors; indeed I said it, and may "well say so again, since we perceive it by "your Doings. Whereto the Bishop in a "great Rage replied, Well, Sir, because you "sit here by Vertue of the King's Commis- "sion, *Boner enters a Recusation against Smith.*

An. 1549. K. *Edw.* 6.

"ſion, and for that you be Secretary to his "Majeſty, and alſo one of his Highneſs Coun- "cil, I muſt, and do Honour and Reverence "you, but as you be Sir *Thomas Smith*, and "ſay as you have ſaid, I do like Thieves, "Murtherers and Traitors, I ſay you lye up- "on me; and in that Caſe I defy you in "what you can do to me; I fear you not. "And therefore, *Quod facis, fac citius.* The Secretary told him, *He ſhould know there was a King.* *Yea*, ſaid the Biſhop, *and that is not you.* *No, Sir*, ſaid the Secretary again, *but we will make you know who is.* And ſo in fine, for carrying himſelf ſo irreverently towards the King's Commiſſioners, and eſpecially towards Sir *Thomas Smith* the King's Secretary, the Knight-Marſhal was called in, and the Biſhop committed to him. And the Secretary commanded him to take and keep him that none might come at him. For if he did, he ſhould ſet by him himſelf.

Smith charges him with Diſobedience.

At another Seſſion, Secretary *Smith* did burthen him, how diſobediently and rebelliouſly he had always carried himſelf towards the King's Majeſty and his Authority. To which the Biſhop replied, *That he was the King's lawful and true Subject, and did acknowledge his Highneſs to be his Gracious Sovereign Lord.* "Yea, *anſwered the Secretary*, you "ſay well, my Lord; but I pray you, what "elſe have all theſe Rebels in *Norfolk*, *Devon* "and *Cornwal* done? Have they not ſaid thus, "*We be the King's true Subjects; We acknow-* "*ledge him for our King, and we will obey his* "*Laws*,

"*Laws*, and the like. And yet, when either "Commandment, Letter or Pardon was brought "to them from his Majeſty, they believed it "not, but ſaid it was forged under an Hedge, "and was Gentlemens Doings. *I perceive your* "*meaning*, ſaid the Biſhop again, *as who ſhould* "*ſay, the Biſhop of* London *is a Rebel like them.* "*Yea, by my Troth*, ſaid the Secretary. Where-at the Standers by fell into a Laughter: How this Biſhop was afterwards deprived, and committed, and how he Proteſted and Appealed, may be ſeen in other Hiſtorians. *An.* 1549. *K. Edw.* 6.

In *October*, the Duke of *Somerſet* the Protector received a terrible Shock; almoſt all the Privy Counſellors making a Defection from the Court, and meeting in *London*, combined together againſt him. So that he at laſt was Impriſoned, and loſt all his Places, Honours and Lands. There were only Three then ſtuck to him in this Time of Adverſity, *viz. Thomas*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Sir *William Paget*, and our Sir *Thomas Smith*. Between whom and the Lords at *London*, Letters paſt upon this Affair, carried by Sir *Philip Hoby*. The Peril they ran was not a little. For the Lords wrote to them, that it ſeemed ſtrange to them, that they ſhould either aſſiſt, or ſuffer his Majeſty's Royal Perſon to remain in the Guard of the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Men, and that Strangers ſhould be armed with the King's own Armour, and be neareſt about his Perſon; and thoſe to whom the ordinary Charge was committed to be ſequeſtred away. And the Lords ſent them word moreover, *In trouble with the Protector.*

that if any Evil came thereof, they muſt expect it muſt be imputed to them. And whereas the Archbiſhop, *Paget*, and *Smith* in their Letter to the Lords told them, *They knew more than they* [the Lords] *knew*, at thoſe Words they took this advantage, as they returned them Anſwer, "That if the Matters "that came to their knowledge, and were "hidden from them [*the Lords*] were of ſuch "weight as they pretended, or if they touched or might touch his Majeſty, or his State, "they [*the Lords*] thought that they did not "as they ought to do, in not diſcloſing the "ſame to them, [*the whole Council.*] In fine, being over-powered, *Smith*, together with the Archbiſhop, and the Comptroller *Paget* ſent another Letter from *Windſor*, (where the King and they were) that they would not fail to endeavour themſelves according to the Contents of the Lord's Letters; and that they would convene together when and where the Lords pleaſed. This was a notable inſtance of *Smith*'s Fidelity to the Duke his old Maſter; who ſtuck thus to him as long as he durſt, and was then glad to comply as fairly as he could. And, if I miſtake not, now did ſome ſtorm fall upon Sir *Thomas*: And I believe he was deprived of his Place of Secretary. For at this Time it appears by the King's Journal, that Dr. *Wotton* was made Secretary. Tho' he ſeemed ſoon to be reſtored again.

An. 1549. K. Edw. 6.

In

In the Year 1550. Sir *Thomas* was ſummoned a Witneſs, together with a great many other Noblemen and Gentlemen of the Court, in the great Trial of *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Winton*. He was ſworn againſt him in the Month of *February*, being then 33 Years of Age, as it is ſet down in his Depoſition [by an Error of the Printer for 39.] By which it appeareth, that in the Year before, *viz.* 1549. *Smith*, then Secretary was divers times ſent by the Lord Protector to the ſaid Biſhop, to travail with him to agree to the King's Proceedings, and that he would promiſe to ſet them forth in a Sermon, or otherwiſe: And that he often did, in the Company of Mr. *Cecil*, repair to him for that purpoſe. That *Smith* and the ſaid *Cecil*, by Command of the ſaid Council drew up certain Articles, to which the Biſhop ſhould ſhew his Conſent, and to Preach and ſet forth the ſame. And that after ſeveral Attendances upon the Biſhop to bring him to this, and upon ſome hope of Conformity thereto, the Lords of the Council ſent for him to the Palace at *Weſtminſter*. After that, was the Lord *Wiltſhire* ſent to him, to whom he ſhewed ſome Conformity herein. Soon after that Lord went again accompanied with *Smith*, to know his final Reſolution. To whom he ſhewed great readineſs to ſet forth the Articles aforeſaid in his Sermon; yet prayed not to be tied to the ſame Words. In which the Council at length yielded to him. And thus was Secretary *Smith* employed in that Affair. In which he carried himſelf it ſeems

An. 1550. *K. Edw.* 6. Smith *depoſed againſt* Gardiner. *Act. and Mon. firſt Edit.*

seems with so much Discretion and Moderation towards that haughty Bishop, that afterwards in his Prosperity under Queen *Mary* he was a Friend to him, when he was such a bloody Enemy to all Protestants besides.

An. 1550. *K. Edw.* 6.

Makes a Purchase.

In this same Year, 1550. He made a Purchase of the King of the whole Mannor of *Overston*, alias *Ovestone*, in the County of *Northampton*, parcel of the Possessions called *Richmond Lands*, and divers other Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments in the Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Bucks*, *Surry* and *Hertford*. For which he gave 414 *l.* 10 *s.* 4 *d.* and other Lands in *Derby* and *Middlesex*. The Yearly value of this Purchase was 87 *l.* 17 *s.* 9 *d.*

An. 1551.

Goes in Embassy to France.

In the Year 1551. the 30th of *April*, Sir *Thomas Smith* still under the Name of Secretary, was appointed one of those that were to go in that great and splendid Embassy to *France*, with a Commission of Treaty concerning a Match for the King with that King's Eldest Daughter, at the same time the Marques of *Northampton* went with the Order of the Garter to the said King. With whom was joyned in Commission the Bishop of *Ely*, Sir *Philip Hoby*, Sir *William Pickering*, and Sir *John Mason*: These two Leiger Embassadors there, and two Lawyers, whereof *Smith* was one.

CHAP.

An. 1553. 1554. 1555. 1556. 1557. Q. Mary.

CHAP. VI.

The Condition of Sir Thomas Smith *under Queen* Mary. *His wiſe Advertiſements.*

SIR *Thomas* paſt the Reign of King *Edward*, in great Reputation and Proſperity. But upon the Acceſs of Queen *Mary* to the Crown, as many of the deceaſed King's Miniſters of State, eſpecially ſuch as favoured Religion, were caſt off, ſo were the two Secretaries, Sir *William Cecil*, and Sir *Thomas Smith*. And beſides the loſs of that honourable Station, he was deprived alſo of what he held in the Church. For he was a Spiritual Perſon alſo; and ſo was inveſted by the late King with the Provoſtſhip of *Eton*, and the Deanry of *Carliſle*. And to ſpoil him of theſe and other places with the more Formality, he was ſummoned to appear before certain Perſons, whom the Queen had Commiſſionated for theſe purpoſes, together with *Cranmer*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Dr. *May*, Dean of St. *Paul*'s. He fell eaſy, for his Life was ſaved, tho' he were a Proteſtant, and had an 100 *l. per Ann.* allowed him, for his Subſiſtence; but was charged not to depart out of the Realm. Which favourable handling no doubt was obtained for him by ſome great Friends at this Court: A ſign of the great eſteem they had of his worth. Such

He loſes all his Places.

was

was his good Fortune in thoſe hard times, *An.* 1553. when ſo many of his Friends, and the faſt 1554. Profeſſors of Religion ſuffered moſt ſharply. 1555. Dr. *Henry Cole*, (afterwards Dean of St. *Paul's*) 1556. ſucceeded him in the Provoſtſhip of *Eton*: 1557. And Dr. *John Boxal* in the place of Secretary *Q. Mary.* of State: As Sir *John Bourn* ſucceeded *Cecil* the other Secretary. And ſo he made a ſhift to paſs through this dangerous Reign in ſafety, following his Studies and Contemplations in his native Country of *Eſſex*, at his Houſe of *Hill-hall* there. And when many on all hands of him were moſt cruelly burnt alive for the Profeſſion of that Religion which he held, he eſcaped, and was ſaved even in the midſt of the Fire. Which probably he might have an eye to in changing the Creſt of his Coat of Arms, which now was a Salamander living in the midſt of a Flame; whereas before it was an Eagle, holding a Writing Pen, flaming in his Dexter Claw, as may ſtill be ſeen upon a Monument of his Anceſtors in *Walden* Church, and likewiſe in another Monument in the Church of *Greenſted* in *Eſſex*, ſet up to the Memory of his Siſter, who Married *Wood* of *Brodlane* in *Kent*.

Smith *hath Indulgence from the Pope.*

But which is ſtrange, he acted his part ſo dextrouſly in theſe difficult Times, that even his Enemy the Pope ſheltered him under his Bull for many Tranſgreſſions of his own Laws. For in the Year 1555. one *William Smythwick*, of the Dioceſs of *Bath*, Eſq; had obtained a very large Indulgence from *Rome*. For which, no queſtion, the ſaid Gentleman

was

was very liberal, which cauſed that Court to ſhew her ſelf ſo liberal again. It was, that he and any five of his Friends whom he ſhould nominate, (excepting Regulars) ſuch as were Married, and their Children of both Sexes, ſhould enjoy many extraordinary Indulgences upon his Petition to the Pope, who then was *Paul* IV. Which Petition was graciouſly accorded to by that Pope, and the Bull ran for Indulgence to *Smythwick*, and his five Friends and their Children (as was petitioned) *á Quibuſvis Excommunicationis, Supenſionis & Interdicti, aliiſq; Eccleſiaſticis Sententiis, Cenſuris & Pœnis, á jure vel ab homine quavis occaſione vel Cauſis latis, ac Votorum quorumcunq; & Eccleſiæ Mandatorum Tranſgreſſionibus, Perjuriorum & Homicidii caſualis vel mentalis Reatibus, manuum violentarum in quaſvis Perſonas Eccleſiaſticas, non tamen Prælatos de præterito, injectionibus, Jejuniorum, Horarum Canonicarum ac divinorum Officiorum & Pœnitentiarum injunctarum in toto vel in parte Omiſſionibus; Nec non ab omnibus & ſingulis eorum Peccatis de quibus contriti fuerint & Confeſſi, etiamſi eſſent talia propter quæ foret Sedes Apoſtolica conſulenda*, &c. That is, "From all Sentences "of Excommunication, Suſpenſion and Inter- "dict, and other Cenſures Eccleſiaſtical upon "whatever occaſion or cauſe inflicted, Tranſ- "greſſions of any Vows or Commands of "the Church, Guilt of Perjuries, and of Ho- "micide, whether caſual or mental, Laying "violent Hands upon any Eccleſiaſtical Per- "ſons, excepting Prelates *de præterito*, Omiſſi- "ons

An. 1553. 1554. 1555. 1556. 1557. Q. Mary.

"ons in whole or in part of Fasts, Canoni-
An. 1553. "cal Hours, Divine Offices, Penances injoin-
1554. "ed: Also from all and singular their Sins,
1555.
1556. "whereof they are Contrite and Confessed;
1557. "altho' they were such for which the Apo-
Q. Mary. "stolick See were to be consulted. Likewise many other Indulgences were by Vertue hereof granted, as to have a Portatile Altar, to receive the Sacrament privately; that in Lent and in other Fasting times of the Year, they might eat Eggs, Butter, Cheese and other Milk-meats, and Flesh without scruple of Conscience. *Smythwick* chose Sir *Thomas Smith* for one of his Five Friends specified in the Bull, to be partaker of these Catholick Privileges. And so it is expresst in an Instrument drawn out and attested by *Thomas Willet* publick Notary: Which still remains in the possession of Sir *Edward Smith* of *Hill-Hall* Baronet, *Dict.* Smythwick *discretum & præclarum Virum Dominum* Thom. Smith *de* Hill-Hall Lon. *Diocæs. Militem, & Dominam* Philippam *Uxorem ejus, eorumq; Liberos, nominavit, Constituit, Admisit, acceptavit,* &c. *pro primis personis de quinq; Personis, ut præfertur per eum Nominand. ad liberè licitèq; utend. & gaudend. omnibus & singulis in ipsis literis sive Brevi Apostolico concess. indult.* &c. This, no question was a good Skreen for Sir *Thomas* in these Evil Days.

Bishop Gardiner *his Friend.* If any still should wonder how Sir *Thomas* escaped so well, who had been so much employed in the former Reign in the proceedings of Religion, and had so heartily set them forward; and withal had assisted in a Commission,

miſſion, wherein *Boner*, Biſhop of *London* was depoſed, a Man of ſuch a wrathful Temper; his ſafety was in a great meaſure owing to that Deference that that ſtern and cruel Biſhop *Gardiner*, now Lord Chancellor, had to his exemplary Vertue and Learning: He was ſtruck with a kind of Admiration of the Man, pretending a great Love to him: And would Swear that he among all the reſt of the Hereticks deſerved only to live, and to be preferred for his deep Wiſdom and Judgment, and the Heroical Sentiments of his Mind. This is elegantly deſcribed to us by the Poet that dedicated the *Muſes Tears* to his Funerals;

An. 1553. 1554. 1555. 1556. 1557. Q. Mary.

Quiq; alios rabido laniavit dente fideles,
Subdolus Antiſtes Stephanus, *cognomine Vulpes,*
Unius ingenio, Literis, Gravitate virili
Sic perculſus erat; mentiſq; Heroica Senſa
Sic venerabatur, non ſolum ut parceret illi,
Sed magnum præ ſe Veterator ferret amorem:
Et ſolum Hæreticos inter, Vitaq; Locoq;
Dignum aliquo, propter ſummum juraret Acumen.

Smith gains Gardiner's favour upon his firſt Addreſs to him from Cambridge.

And I am apt to think, that *Smith* gained the Point in Biſhop *Gardiner*'s Affection in the Year 1542. upon his firſt Addreſs in that Year. When being a Man of Eminency in *Cambridge*, he waited upon him at *Hampton*-Court about the Difference, as it ſeemed, concerning the right pronouncing of the Greek. When *Tho. Smith* had been the great Reformer of the old corrupt way of reading that Language, and that Biſhop the Chancellor of the Univerſity utterly againſt introducing the new

new correct way; Yet *Smith* carried himſelf
An. 1553. with ſo much facility and obſequiouſneſs to
1554. him in that regard, that it took much with
1555. him. And upon his Return back to *Cam-*
1556. *bridge*, tho' he took the freedom to write a
1557. large Letter to the ſaid Chancellor, arguing
Q. Mary. againſt the Decree he had lately made, to forbid the new way, and to continue the old, yet it was with extraordinary Complement to him of his high Worth, Learning, Prudence and Acuteneſs: Beginning his Letter after this obliging manner:

Right Reverend and moſt Worthy Prelate.

"GReat was the Pleaſure I took in your "Diſcourſe with me, when I was the "other Day at *Hampton*-Court to wait upon "you, partly out of Duty, and partly to con-"ſult with you. For that which I had be-"fore learned by Fame only and Hearſay of "your Wiſdom, being then preſent I under-"ſtood by Experience; and that your Lord-"ſhip was indued not only with very great "Skill and Inſight in the weighty Affairs of "State, but alſo in theſe light and literary "Controverſies, with an incredible ſharpneſs, "and an excellent Facility and Plenty, joined "with a wonderful Obligingneſs, while you "are diſputing and arguing, *&c.* He con-cludes his Letter with a Proteſtation of intire Obedience to his Lordſhip's Order, however he ſhould determine for or againſt his Deſire; and that he would ſubmit to his Authority, being

being the Authority of a Reverend Prelate, and a very Learned Chancellor. From hence I date the Reſpect and Love *Smith* gained with this Biſhop.

An. 1553. 1554. 1555. 1556. 1557. *Q. Mary.*

This muſt be remembred to this Biſhops Commendation, among the many evil Things that aſperſe and blacken his Name to this Day. Nor muſt the like favour or a greater be forgotten by him ſhewn to ſuch another Learned and grave Proteſtant, Friend and Contemporary with *Smith*, I mean *Roger Aſcham*; which I muſt have leave to mention here. Whom the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* did not only ſpare, but called to Court, and preferred to be Secretary of the Latin Tongue to Queen *Mary*. Whom for his Learning in the Languages, and incomparable faculty of a clean Stile, and beautiful Writing, he greatly loved, and obliged with many Benefits. And when Sir *Francis Engleſield*, Maſter of the Wards and Liveries, a fierce Papiſt, had often cried out upon *Aſcham*, to the Biſhop as an Heretick, and fit to be rejected and puniſhed as ſuch, he never would hearken to him, either to puniſh him or remove him from his Place. Thus Lived two excellent Proteſtants under the Wings as it were of the ſworn Enemy and Deſtroyer of Proteſtants, *Aſcham*, and *Smith*, to whom we now return again.

Aſcham *favoured by* Gardiner.

Nay, and bloody *Boner*, who had a perſonal Pique againſt him ſince the laſt Reign, as was ſhewn before, let him alone tho' he were in his Dioceſs, admiring the Man, and diſſembling his Anger.

And Biſhop Boner *pretends to be* Smith's *Friend.*

An. 1557. *Q. Mary.*

Nec Bonerus *eum non admiratus, amici*
Vultum hominis tantas inter ſimulaverat iras.

Robert Smith, *a Retainer of Sir* Thomas Smith *burnt.*

But tho' he thus eſcaped this Man, yet another of his Name, who was alſo a Retainer to him at *Eaton*, when Provoſt there, fell into his Hands, whom he left not till he had reduced him into Aſhes. Namely, *Robert Smith*, who was burnt at *Uxbridge* in the Year 1555. This *Robert* belonged to the Church of *Winſor*, and had a Clerkſhip there of 10 *l.* a Year. Of Stature he was tall and ſlender, active and very ingenious for many Things, chiefly delighting in the Art of Painting, which for his Minds-ſake rather than for a Living or Gain he practiſed and exerciſed. He was ſmart and quick in Converſation, and fervent in Religion, wherein he was confirmed by the Preachings and Readings of Mr. *Turner*, Canon of *Windſor* and others. In his Examinations before Biſhop *Boner* he ſpake readily and to the purpoſe, and with no leſs Boldneſs, and gave that Prelate his own. He was alſo a good Poet according to the Poetry of thoſe Times: Some Pieces whereof remain in *Fox*'s Monuments. And his Parts, and Elegancy of Stile as well as his Piety Godward, may be judged of by his Sententious Letter to his Wife from Priſon a little before his Death: Which may be ſeen in *Fox*, beginning, "Seek "firſt to Love God, Dear Wife, with your "whole Heart, and then ſhall it be eaſie to "Love your Neighbour. Be friendly to all "Creatures,

Pag. 1544.

"Creatures, and eſpecially to your own Soul.
"Be always an Enemy to the Devil and the
"World, but eſpecially to your own Fleſh.
"In hearing of good Things join the Ears
"and Heart together. Seek Unity and Quiet-
"neſs with all Men, but eſpecially with your
"Conſcience. For he will not eaſily be en-
"treated. Hate the Sins that are paſt, but
"eſpecially thoſe to come. Be as ready to
"further your Enemy, as he is to hinder
"you, *&c.* It was remarkable at his Death, that his Body well nigh half burnt, and all in a lump like a black Cole, he ſuddenly roſe upright, and lifted up the ſtumps of his Arms, and clapped the ſame together, and ſo ſunk down again and Died. And this was the more to be remarked, becauſe he had at the Stake ſaid to thoſe that ſtood about him, that they ſhould not think amiſs of him or his Cauſe, tho' he came to that End; and that they would not doubt, but his Body, tho' ſo to be conſumed preſently to Aſhes, yet Dying in that Quarrel, ſhould riſe again to Life everlaſting, and added, that he doubted not God would ſhew ſome Token thereof.

An. 1557. *Q. Mary.*

Smith, in theſe Days of Queen *Mary* was removed off the Stage of Action, being now but a ſilent Stander by. And here he ſaw the pitiful Burning of poor Men and Women for Religion, the Marriage with *Spain*, the Loſs of *Calais*, and the Reduction of the Kingdom to the loweſt Ebb both in Wealth and Reputation that it had been in for ſome hundreds of Years before. Which Things went cloſe

His Grief at theſe Times.

to his Heart, and out of the Love he had to his native Country filled him with Vexation, nay, and ſhame, to behold. Hear his own Words, reflecting upon theſe Times in one of his private Diſcourſes framed in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign: "We kept "*Calais* 200 Years and odd in the *French* "Ground, in ſpight of all the *French* Kings "which have been ſince that Time, in all the "Civil Wars, and the moſt pernicious Diſſen- "ſions that ever were, either in King *Henry* "the Fourth, the Sixth, *Richard* the Third, "or *Henry* the Seventh their Times. In King "*Henry* the Eighth's Time we wan alſo to it "*Bouloign* and *Bouloignois*. I do aſſure you, "for my part, if I may ſay what I think, I "queſtion, if I ſhould have lived through "Five hundred Years heretofore paſt, I ſhould "have ſeen *England* at any time weaker in "Strength, Men, Money and Riches, than it "was in the time when we wrote *King Philip* "*and Queen Mary*, King and Queen of ſo "many Kingdoms, Dukedoms, Marchionates. "For all thoſe wily Titles, our Hearts, our "Joy, our Comfort was gone. As much af- "fectionate as you note me to be to my Coun- "try and Countrymen, I aſſure you I was "then aſhamed of both.——What decay "came that Time to the ſubſtance of the "Realm, and Riches both publick and pri- "vate, it ſhould be no leſs Pity than needleſs "to tell.

An. 1557. *Q. Mary.*

Oration about Queen Elizabeth's Marriage.

I am

I am ſorry I can retreive ſo little of this worthy Man, during theſe five Years of Queen *Mary*, which he ſpent in Leiſure and Retirement. However, I have retreived a Paper wrote by him in the Year 1557. that deſerves here to be ſet down, Intitled, *An.* 1557. Q. *Mary.* Smith's *wiſe Advertiſements and Counſels.*

Advertiſements and Counſels very neceſſary for all Noblemen and Counſellors, gathered out of divers Authors both Italian *and* Spaniſh.

1. TEll not all that you think, nor ſhew all that you have, nor take all that you deſire, nor ſay all that you know, nor do all that you can. For lightly ſhall he loſe the Favour of his Prince that followeth the Commandment of his Luſts, and reſtraineth not them with the Bit of Reaſon.

2. Beware you put not Fortune in truſt with thoſe Things that appertain to your Perſon, Honour, Subſtance or Conſcience. For the Nobleman which is wiſe will not hazard himſelf, in hope to have relief at her hands as often as he ſhall need.

3. Altho' all Men promiſe to help you if you had need, yet nevertheleſs truſt not too much thereto. Many of them which now do offer to take Armour for your ſake, if occaſion be offered will be the firſt to ſtrike you, to give you the Overthrow.

4. In other Mens Caſes meddle not too much; nor in your own enforce not Time,

An. 1557. *Q. Mary.*

For governing you ſo, you may remain in the good Eſtate you be, or elſe may eaſily happen to utter what you were.

5. The Danger of Noblemen is like to them that be in the top of high and ſharp Mountains, whence they cannot deſcend but fall. Wherefore procure unto your ſelves ſuch faithful Friends, as will rather ſtay you from falling, than ſuch as will reach unto you their Hands to help you up, when you be down.

6. Do good while you have power thereunto; and never do hurt tho' you may. For the Tears of the Offended, and the Complaints of the Grieved may one Day have place in the ſight of God, to move him to Chaſtiſe you, and alſo be occaſion to make the Prince to hate you.

7. Beſtow your Benefits and Offices rather upon the Good, than upon your Friends. For among your Friends it is lawful to depart your Goods but not your Conſcience.

8. In that you Counſel be not affectionate, in that you Diſcounſel be not paſſionate. Whatſoever you do, do adviſedly. For altho' in the Courts of Princes, every Man beholdeth the Worthineſs and Nobility of the Perſon; Yet the more noble a Man is, the more is he noted, marked and hated of others.

9. If you will not err in your Counſels, nor ſtumble in your Actions, embrace them that tell you Truth, and hate them that flatter you. For much more ought you to love them that adviſe you, than thoſe that will ſeem to pity you, when you are in Danger.

10. Have

10. Have always in memory the Benefits you have received of others, and enforce your ſelves to forget ſuch Injuries as others have done unto you. *An. 1557. Q. Mary.*

11. Eſteem much that Little of your own, and regard not the Abundance of others.

12. Endeavour your ſelf to do good to all Men, and never ſpeak evil of them that be abſent.

13. Jeopard not the Loſs of many things for the Gain of one thing; neither adventure the Loſs of one thing certain for many things doubtful.

14. Make much of your deareſt Friends; and do not procure any Enemies.

15. Exalt not the rich Tyrant, neither abhor the Poor which is righteous. *This hath a Line drawn through it by the Pen of Sir* Thomas Smith *himſelf as it ſeems, fearing perhaps ſome miſconſtruction of his Words, which might draw him into danger under this jealous Government of Queen* Mary.

16. Deny not Juſtice unto the Poor, becauſe he is poor, neither pardon the Rich becauſe he is rich.

17. Do not good only for Love, neither chaſtiſe only for Hatred.

18. In evident Caſes abide not the Counſel of others; and indoubtful Caſes determine not of your ſelf.

19. Suffer not Sin unpuniſhed, nor well-doing without Reward.

20. Deny not Juſtice to him that asketh, nor Mercy to him that deſerveth it.

An. 1557. *Q. Mary.*

21. Chaſtiſe not when thou art Angry, neither promiſe any thing in thy Mirth.

22. Do evil to no Man for malice, neither commit any Vice for Covetouſneſs.

23. Open not thy Gate to Flatterers, nor thy Ears to Backbiters.

24. Become not proud in thy Proſperity, nor deſperate in thine Adverſity.

25. Study always to be loved of good Men, and ſeek not to be hated of the Evil.

26. Be favourable unto the Poor, which may be little, if thou wilt be aided of God againſt them that be Mighty.

CHAP. VII.

Smith *called for to Queen* **Elizabeth's** *Court. Concerned in the Settlement of Religion. His Judgment of the Queen's Marriage.*

An. 1558. *Q. Eliz.*

WHEN Queen *Elizabeth*'s Turn came to ſway the Scepter, Sir *Tho. Smith* was preſently called to the Court, and made uſe of: And aſſiſted in ſettling the publick Affairs both in Church and State. The firſt thing he ſeemed to be employed in, was in preparing a Reformed Office of Religion. For when a Deliberation was ſoon had of changing the Religion ſet up under Queen *Mary*, in a Device offered to Sir *William Cecil*, (who was now

Smith employed in the Reformation.

now admitted Secretary of State) for the doing of it, it was adviſed, that before an whole Alteration could be made, which would require ſome longer time and ſtudy, a Platform or Book of Divine Service ſhould be framed, to be ſhewn to the Queen; and being by her approved, to be put up in the Parliament-Houſe. For which purpoſe, ſeven Men were Nominated, Dr. *Bill*, the Queen's Almoner, and Maſter of *Trinity*-College in *Cambridge*, and after Dean of *Weſtminſter*, Dr. *Parker*, late Dean of *Lincoln*, ſoon after Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *May*, late Dean of St. *Paul*'s, and ſoon after Elect of *York*, Dr. *Cox*, late Dean of *Weſtminſter*, and *Chriſt*'s-Church *Oxon*, after Biſhop of *Ely*, Dr. *Pilkington*, late Maſter of St. *John*'s-College, *Cambridge*, and after Biſhop of *Durham*, *Grindal*, late Chaplain to Biſhop *Ridley*, and ſoon after Biſhop of *London*, and *Whitehead*, a grave and elderly Divine, highly eſteemed by Archbiſhop *Cranmer*: Theſe four laſt having been Exiles in the laſt Reign. And our Knight, Sir *Tho. Smith*, his Office was to call them together, and to be among them. And after Conſultation with theſe, other Men of Learning were to be drawn in, being grave and apt Men, to give their Aſſents. And accordingly theſe Men met, it being now Winter, at Sir *Thomas*'s Houſe, which then was in *Chanon-Row*. Where was laid in a ſufficient quantity of Wood, Coals and drink for their uſe. And here was Sir *Thomas* Aſſiſtant with the reſt in the reviewing of King *Edward*'s Book of Common-Prayer,

An. 1558. *Q. Eliz.*

An. 1558. Q. Eliz. Prayer, to be again received and eſtabliſhed in the Church, and in ſeveral other things to take place in the intended Reformation.

And in one of the Committees for the State; And when in the beginning of the Queen's Reign, (*viz. Decemb.* 23) the ſeveral publick important Affairs of the Kingdom were committed to the Cares of divers Noble Perſons and Courtiers in five diſtinct Committees; as I. The Cares of the North Parts, II. The Survey of the Office of the Treaſurer of the Chamber, III. For *Portſmouth* and the Iſle of *Wight*, IV. For Enquiry into what Lands had been granted by the Late Queen *Mary* from the Crown, V. For the Conſideration of ſuch Things as were neceſſary for the enſuing Parliament; For this laſt Sir *Tho. Smith* was one of the Committee, together with the Keeper of the Great Seal, the Judges and ſome others.

An. 1559. In the firſt Year of the Queen, he was alſo by her employed to give the Treaſurer and Chamberlains of his Native Town of *Walden*, their Oaths of Fidelity to her Majeſty. To him and *George Nicolls* the Recorder, a Commiſſion from the Queen, dated *May* 1. 1559. was iſſued for that purpoſe, and the Form of the Oath to be Adminiſtred, ſet down therein. A Copy of which Commiſſion yet remaineth in one of the Town Books.

And in Swearing the Officers of Walden.

Sir Thomas his Service in the Commiſſion of the Peace. And being in the Commiſſion of the Peace, he now did very good Service in the County of *Eſſex* where he lived. For I find him in *June* one of the Chief in executing a Commiſſion of an Order taken at *Chelmesford*, *June*

June 16. 1559. by the Earl of *Oxford*, the Lord-Lieutenant, and the reſt of the Juſtices there met. It was for the taking care to the Orders newly made by Parliament for the Reformation of Religion, and for the muſtering and putting the County in a Poſture of Defence. In which, I make no doubt, Sir *Thomas* had a great hand, and was a ſpecial Director. The ſum of theſe Orders was, That every Juſtice of Peace was to take an Oath, which was provided for that purpoſe; and that every one appointed to be a Juſtice ſhould not forbear to Serve, or take the Oath. That the Juſtices ſhould call three or four of the Honeſt Inhabitants of every Pariſh, and charge them to get the Common-Prayer Book and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments lately Authorized by Parliament to be ſaid and uſed. And that the ſaid Inhabitants ſhould ſee the Curates in each Pariſh uſe ſuch Service as was appointed in the ſaid Book, and no other. And if any Curate refuſed ſo to do, or Miniſtered ſome other way than was ſet down, or Preach or Teach any thing in Derogation to the ſame, to apprehend and take him and bring him before the Lord-Lieutenant to receive Puniſhment according to the Statute. The ſaid Inhabitants alſo to preſent the Names of all Perſons as did abſent themſelves from Divine Service. That the Juſtices and all other Gentlemen give their Attendance upon ſuch Preachers as ſhould be ſent by the Queen or the Biſhops, ſo long as the Preachers ſhould tarry in thoſe Parts.

An. 1559. Q. Eliz.

Parts. Also, to order Watches and Beacons
An. 1559. to be kept within their several Divisions. To
Q. Eliz. cause the Act for Rebellion, and the Statute for Archery to be Published to the People. To see to the Punishment of Vagabonds and seditious Tellers of Tales. To send their Precepts to all Constables, to give admonition to all Persons to provide themselves with Horse and Armour, according as the Law lately made in that behalf ordained. The Constables to direct a Brief of the Statute of Armour with the Pains contained, that it might be Notified to all Men, how they were to provide for the Musters. And within three Weeks after the former Precept, to send forth Precepts to the Constables, requiring all Men from Sixteen to Sixty, chargeable by the last Statute for finding of Armour, to repair before the Justices at such a Day and Place as they should appoint; and thither to bring all their Household Servants and Arms and Horses, as they were bounden to find. Also, to Certifie to the Lord-Lieutenant of the Default and Lack of Furniture in any. To chuse out the most likely and able Men for the Wars, and put their Names in a Book: And particularly note their Names that should be most meet for Demi-launces, Light-horsemen, Gunners, Archers, Pikemen and Billmen. Musters being taken, the Justices to deliver to the Lord-Lieutenant a Certificate containing the Number of all the Able Men within every Hamlet and Parish, *&c.*

Besides,

Beſides, the Oath which the Juſtices were to take, mentioned in the firſt Article above-mentioned, they were to Subſcribe their Names to a Writing to be tranſmitted to the Council, "Acknowledging it their bounden "Duty to obſerve the Contents of the Act of "Parliament, that is, the Act for Uniformity of Common-Prayer, *&c.* And for the "Obſervation of the ſame Law, they did "firmly promiſe that they and their Families "would repair at all Times to their Pariſh-"Churches, or, upon reaſonable Impediment, "to other uſual Chappels for the ſame Com-"mon-Prayer and Divine Service; and to re-"ceive the Holy Sacrament from time to "time, according to the Tenor of the ſaid "Act: And none of them that Subſcribed "ſhould ſay or do, or aſſent or ſuffer any "Thing to be done or ſaid by their Procure-"ment, in Contempt of any part of the Reli-"gion Eſtabliſhed by that Act. In which Subſcription, as I find the Form of it written down by Sir *Thomas* in one of his Paper-Books, ſo I repute him to have been a great Counſellor, for the furthering of Religion, and the excluding of all Popiſhly affected from having any Countenance from the State.

An. 1559. *Q. Eliz.* *Subſcription of the Juſtices.*

Great Diſcourſe was now had every where about the Queen's Marriage. For it was the Nations great Deſire to ſee the Queen have a Prince to ſucceed in the Government after her. The Queen ſeemed not inclinable to Marry; and there were ſome that flattered her,

An. 1560. Smith's *Dialogue concerning the Queen's Marriage.*

An. 1560. Q. Eliz.

her, and declared it were better for her and the Realm, that ſhe ſhould remain ſingle as ſhe was. But the moſt part, and eſpecially the Proteſtant, was earneſt for her Marriage: Yet theſe varied; ſome were for her Marrying abroad, others at home. Of this Argument, Sir *Thomas* drew up an ingenious Book, conſiſting of divers Orations for and againſt the Queen's Marriage, fained to be ſpoken by certain Dialogiſts according as their Judgments were in this Point. Their Names were *Agamus*, whoſe Judgment was for the Queen's not Marrying, *Philoxenes*, who was for her Marrying, but for her Marrying a Stranger, and *Axenius*, who was for her Marrying at home with ſome one of her Noble Subjects. For the ſight of this choice MS. I am beholden to my worthy Friends, Sir *Richard Gibbs* of *Weltham* in *Suffolk*, Knight, and the Reverend Mr. *John Laughton*, publick Library Keeper of *Cambridge*.

The firſt Entrance into this Dialogue begins thus. "As I was walking in my Gar-
"den all alone, *Francis Walſingham* came un-
"to me: And whether I eſpied him at the
"firſt coming or no, my Head being occu-
"pied with Matters, I know not. But after
"the firſt common Words of *Welcome*, and
"*How do ye*, and *Ye have been long a Stranger*,
"*What News?* &c. I pray you, ſaith he, tell me,
"if I may be ſo bold to ask you, What is
"that you are muſing upon ſo ſadly alone,
"when I came in. Methoughts you had ſome
"great Matter in your Head: For ye ſcarce-
"ly

"ly did ſee me, and loth ye were to be in- An. 1566.
"terrupted. Ye gueſs well, quoth I; For Q. Eliz.
"I was recording with my ſelf a Commu-
"nication, which was had here, even in this
"Place, partly in Walking, and partly in
"ſitting upon the Green Bench, of certain
"Friends of yours and mine, which came
"now from the Court to ſolace themſelves in
"the Country, and took my Houſe in their
"way. I pray you, ſaid he, if I may hear
"it, let me hear ſome piece of it. For it muſt
"be ſome great Matter that maketh you Muſe
"of it all alone? *S.* It is a great Matter indeed,
"quoth I, Marry it is as a Man doth take it.
"For it was a Diſputation much after the old
"ſort of *Plato*'s Dialogues and *Tullies*, and *a*
"*Thing* which I would wiſh ſome Learned
"Man had in hand that could handle it well,
"as it will bear. For the Matter ſeemeth
"worthy the Writing. And they ſurely each
"Man defended his Part ſtoutly and lively with
"ſo *many Reaſons* as came to his Mind, I dare
"ſay for that time. *W.* And whoſe Part
"took you? But I am a Fool to ask you that
"Queſtion before you tell me the Matter and
"Argument of the Diſputation. *S.* The Mat-
"ter was of the Marriage of the Queen's
"Majeſty, whom I had thought, that all the
"World as well as I, had wiſht to have been
"Married, that it might have pleaſed God to
"have bleſſed and made glad our Country with
"a Young Prince of her Body. *W.* And is
"there any Man ſo wicked and ſo fooliſh that
"doth not wiſh ſo? *S.* I cannot tell you what

"he

An. 1560. Q. Eliz.

"he doth indeed, but I assure you one, whom "I dare say ye neither account wicked nor "a fool in reasoning, would shew himself not "only of the contrary mind, but to have "great Reasons for his Opinion. *W.* That is "but as you Philosophers and Rhetoricians "do. For you care not what part you take. "For if you list, you will never lack Argu-"ments; and would make some simple Men "as I am that hear you, believe, that the "Cow is Wood, and that the Moon is made "of a green Cheese. *S.* When you speak of "Learned Men, put me out of the number. "But he held that her Majesty did best in thus "keeping her self sole as she doth; and would "seem to be in mind, that it were best for "her not to Marry. *W.* Mary, that is a "Mind indeed; if it were known abroad, he "were of such a mind, whosoever he were, "I dare say every Man would spit at him in "the Streets as he goeth; and for my part I "should never love him. *S.* Why? If her "Majesty were of that mind, as it seemeth "by divers of her Doings and Sayings she is, "would you not love her? *W.* Love her? "Her Majesty I cannot chuse but love: "Her Vertues be such, that whosoever know-"eth her Majesty (tho' he were not her Sub-"ject) must needs love her. As for us that "are her Subjects, Duty compelleth us to love, "honour and obey her, to take her part what-"soever it shall please her Highness to do in "that Case. But I cannot chuse but wish o-"therwise. *S.* Well, another held the con-"trary.

"trary. Mary, he would in any Caſe her
"Majeſty ſhould Marry within the Realm. *An.* 1560.
"*W.* God's Bleſſing on his Heart: Him I like *Q. Eliz.*
"well. *S.* The third thought it more con-
"venient, that her Majeſty ſhould have ſome
"Prince a Stranger; and brought great Rea-
"ſons therefore. *W.* That was, I dare lay a
"Wager, ſome *Italianated Engliſh* Man, or
"ſome Mongrel that hath good ſtore of Out-
"landiſh Blood in him. *S.* Ye judge very
"faſt, before ye either know the Man, or
"have peruſed his Reaſons. Well; the fourth
"ſeemeth moſt indifferent. For he was but
"directly againſt the firſt. For in any wiſe
"he liked not that ſole Life of a Queen. For
"the reſt, whether it pleaſed her Highneſs to
"take a Nobleman of *England*, or a Stranger,
"he was indifferent. *W.* Sir, if I may be ſo
"bold as to hear the whole Diſcourſe, you
"ſhall do me the greateſt pleaſure in the
"World. And ſeeing you were repeating the
"ſame with your ſelf, you were as well tell
"it out. With one labour you ſhall repeat
"that thing that elſe you would do, and plea-
"ſure me your Friend. *S.* Neither the la-
"bour is all one to meditate in a Man's Mind,
"and to ſpeak out with his Tongue: Nor
"his Peril is like. For if I fail in the repeat-
"ing to my ſelf, either in my Memory of
"the Reaſons, or plain uttering of them, I
"am the Offender and Puniſher, no Man elſe
"can controul me. When I ſhall take upon
"me to tell them unto you, you ſhall I know
"ſometimes have cauſe to find fault with my

A°. 1560. Q. Eliz.

"Memory, and ſometimes with my Wit, "and moſt times with my Eloquence. And "they peradventure have cauſe to be angry "with me, becauſe with my ill rehearſing I "do weaken their Arguments, and with my "Rudeneſs ſtain their Eloquence. *W.* I pray "you let theſe things paſs, and do but as well as "you can. For I can deſire no better with "Reaſon. Let me hear alſo what was diſ-"puted amongſt them. *S.* It began thus;

"After Dinner they were diſpoſed to walk "into my rude Garden; and there, I can-"not tell well who, one began to tell, that "now of freſh the Rumour of the King of "*Sweden Ericus*'s coming hither (for as ye "know by the Death of his Father *Guſtave*, "it began to be ſtayed) was renewed again, "and that of many he was undoubtedly look-"ed for ſhortly to come himſelf hither into "*England*, and in proper Perſon, not by Em-"baſſage, to be a Wooer to her Majeſty. Then, "quoth I, would that Wooing were once "done, and that her Majeſty had one whom "ſhe could like of, that we might ſee the "hope and fruit of Succeſſion more near "at hand. What, ſaid one of them, is there "not in *England* as goodly Men, Nobie, Witty "and Courageous, as be in other ſtrange "Places? What need it be ſought ſo far that "we have ſo near? By my Troth, quoth ano-"ther of them, methinketh far more better "and honourable for all purpoſes, that her "Majeſty ſhould take to Husband ſome Prince "or Nobleman a Stranger, than any of her "own

"own Subjects. Well, ſaith the third, and "I am in that mind, (altho' I know it is not "the moſt plauſible Opinion) that her Maje- "ſty doth beſt to keep her thus ſole, unmar- "ried as ſhe is. The fourth at that was as "much diſpleaſed as you were. Neither, "ſaith he, am I altogether Proſelyte of the "firſt Opinion; nor yet of the ſecond: But "ſo, that her Majeſty Marry, whether our "Countryman, or a Stranger, I like indiffe- "rently: Mary, to hold that ſhe ſhould not "Marry, I hold it an unnatural, and in man- "ner a wicked Opinion againſt our Country. "My Maſters, quoth I, we have all leiſure, "thanks be to God; and ye may make me "now glad. For methinks I am in *Plato*'s "Academy, or *Cicero*'s *Tuſculane*. I pray "you, ſeeing you all four be of divers Opi- "nions, let us hear your Reaſons. We can "have no better Place nor Time. And if this "Green Bank be not ſoft enough, we will "have Cuſhions brought to ſit on. To that "they all agreed, and ſaid they needed no "Cuſhions, the Bank was ſo fair, and the "Garden ſo pleaſant. A little they ſtrived "who ſhould begin. But he that ſpake a- "gainſt Marriage, ſaid, he would gladly firſt "declare unto them, that his Opinion was not "ſo ſtrange nor ſo unreaſonable as they took "it: And ſo he began. *An.* 1560. *Q. Eliz.*

Then he who was for the Queen's ſole Life, repreſented under the name of *Agamus* [*i. e.* Ἄγαμος *Cælebs*] or *Wedſpite*, makes his Diſcourſe at large. After he had ceaſed, *Philoxenus*,

An. 1560. *Q. Eliz.* *loxenus*, [*i. e.* φιλόξενος] or *Love-alien*, makes his Oration in Anſwer to *Agamus*, for the Queen's Marriage. Then the ſame *Philoxenus* enters into another Speech fortified with divers Arguments, for the Queen's Marrying with a Stranger. Then ſpake *Axenius* [ἄξενος] or *Homefriend*; for the Queen's Marrying an *Engliſh*-man. In all theſe Diſcourſes, Sir *Thomas Smith* layeth down what Reaſons could be made uſe of in favour of the Argument inſiſted on; adorned alſo with handſom Eloquence, and furniſhed with proper Examples out of Hiſtory, ancient and modern. In the laſt, and chief Diſcourſe of all, *Smith* ſeems to intend himſelf the Speaker under the Name of *Axenius*, I ſhall exemplifie theſe Orations for the Readers pleaſure and ſatisfaction. And the rather, becauſe they have many things relating to publick Affairs not long before happening in the Realm under the Reigns of King *Henry*, King *Edward* and Queen *Mary*. But if I ſhould place them here, it would too much interrupt the Courſe of the Hiſtory; therefore they are reſerved for the *Appendix*; *Numb.* III. where the Reader ſhall find them.

HAP.

An. 1562. *Q. Eliz.*

CHAP. VIII.

Sir Thomas's *Embaſſies to* France.

THE Principle Queen *Elizabeth* went by, at her firſt coming to the Crown, was to diſplace as few as ſhe might of the Old Miniſters of State: Whereby it came to paſs that many of thoſe that were her Siſters Servants remained ſo to her. Therefore tho' ſhe parted with Queen *Mary*'s two Secretaries, *Bourn* and *Boxal*, ſtrong Papiſts, who came in the rooms of *Cecil* and *Smith*, yet ſhe kept Secretary *Petre* ſtill, and replaced *Cecil*. And intending to retain only two Principal Secretaries for the future, there was no room for our *Smith*. But he was not to be laid aſide; His Abilities were too well known. And therefore the Queen reſolved to make uſe of him for a time in her Buſineſs with foreign Princes, till ſhe might prefer him in her own Court. Thus, (not to mention that he ſeemeth to be diſpatched abroad into *France* in the Year 1559. together with *Thirlby* Biſhop of *Ely*, the Lord *Howard*, and Dr. *Wotton*, when a Peace was concluded with that Crown; and there reſided) in the Year 1562. he was thought a fit Perſon to be employed in the Embaſſy to *France*: Of whom *Cambden* in his Hiſtory takes no notice, tho' he doth of the Embaſſage. He received his laſt

Why not reſtored to be Secretary.

Diſpatched to France.

Inſtructions in *September*, and a Declaration written in *French*; and Sir *Tho. Greſham* the Queen's Merchant gave him Credit. The Matter of the Embaſſy was to urge the Reſtitution of *Calais*, and to keep the Correſpondence with the Proteſtant Prince of *Conde*; that in caſe of a Breach with *France*, he might be Aſſiſtant to the *Engliſh* againſt that Crown.

An. 1562. *Q. Eliz.*

Stops at Calais; and why.

Sir *Thomas* made ſome ſtay at *Calais*, waiting for the coming of Sir *Nicolas Throgmorton*, the Queen's Ambaſſador then in *France*, that they might repair to the French Court together. But he made a Delay at *Orleans* upon ſome By-ends, to the Prejudice of the Queen's Affairs. So Sir *Thomas* at laſt ſet forward himſelf towards the Court, where more good was to be done with his Preſence, than otherwiſe. But as for *Throgmorton*'s Abode at *Orleans*, done perhaps to diſcredit or impede the ſucceſs of *Smith*'s Embaſſy, (and ſo he ſeemed to take it, as did others alſo) Secretary *Cecil* wrote to *Smith*, that he took it to be upon ſuch reaſonable Cauſes as he had alledged, tho' other Folks were not ſo well perſwaded. And he wiſhed him ſafe at home, to anſwer his own Doings: Where, as that good Secretary wrote, he ſhould not lack his Friendſhip for divers Reſpects. But this was the beginning of no good underſtanding between *Throgmorton* and *Smith*, tho' both joint Ambaſſadors in *France* for the Queen.

Directions to him from the Council.

The Queen's Council wrote their Letters to him in *October*, wherein they ſhewed him what paſſed between the *French*-Ambaſſador and

and them; and how a matter of Treaſon of the *Poles*, practiſed by the *French* and *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors, had been of late diſcovered. Which altho' it were a Matter of no great Moment to be feared; Yet thereby was made apparent, how truly the Queen and her Council judged of the Houſe of *Guiſe*. And that ſo he might, as he ſaw Cauſe, take advantage thereby to maintain the former Reaſons publiſhed by her Majeſty, for juſtification of her Doings, in ſending Forces into *France*: As the Secretary wrote to this Ambaſſador. But to look a little back. *An.* 1562. Q. *Eliz.*

Smith's great Profeſſion was, when he came into *France*, to be a Peace-mover. As ſoon as he had Audience of the King and Queen, he wrote the Council a full Account thereof to their great ſatisfaction. And the Secretary wrote to him, that they all allowed of his Zeal to procure Peace, and of his Diligence in ſo ample a manner, as by his Writing had appeared. *Smith a Peace-mover.*

The Cardinal of *Ferrara*, the Pope's Legate, being then at Court, *Smith* had much conference with him. But for this he had not eſcaped a Reprimand from the Court, had not ſome of his good Friends interceded. Of this *Cecil* gave him notice in theſe Words in the Month of *November*: "But to write "plainly and friendly unto you, as I would "you ſhould, if our places were changed, "the moſt here have miſliked that you have "treated with the Legate, and ſeem willing "that you ſhould have been reprimanded "there- *Confers with the Pope's Legate.* *The Secretaries Advice to the Ambaſſador.*

Ann. 1562. *Q. Eliz.*

"therefore. But therein I and others unto "your good meaning have ſo tempered the "Cauſe, as thereof you ſhall hear no other- "wiſe, except it be by me, and ſome others "your private good Friends. For that, as he added, there were among them in *England*, divers very ſcrupulous of dealing with the Popes Miniſters. And therefore he adviſed the Ambaſſador to forbear the Cardinal in theſe Affairs, and to uſe other Courteſy to him as he ſhould ſee cauſe, for the State of *Ferrara*, as the Ambaſſador had well made the Diſtinction to himſelf. The Secretary alſo now adviſed him to beware of one *Monſieur de Serre*, ſaying that he was *very Fine and Nimble in all his Practiques.*

The Queen's Orders to him.

In our Ambaſſadors laſt Diſpatch he wrote to the Queen, and therein took the Liberty to give her certain good Counſel; which Letter ſhe took in good part, and ordered the Secretary to thank him for it, and willed him alſo to warn the Ambaſſador of the Cardinal of *Ferrara*, and likewiſe to let all the Favourers of the Prince of *Conde* manifeſtly underſtand, that without his Conſent the Ambaſſador would not enter into any Treaty with *France.*

Three Evils in France.

Smith, in this Embaſſy, had but ill Entertainment in *France*; for he went over in a Year wherein he met with three Evils, Plague, inteſtine War and Famine. Whereof the next Year the Plague came over into *England*: The inteſtine War was pretty well ceaſed, but the Famine, that is, the Dearth of Proviſion remained

remained and encreaſed there more and more. *An.* 1562. *Q. Eliz.*

February 1. Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, Joint-Ambaſſador with *Smith*, came over into *England* to the Queen, leaving *Smith* alone in *France*; and nine days after he ſent over his Man to the Court with Letters.

And ſo well had Sir *Thomas* managed his Office, and deſcribed the Affairs of *France* ſo fully, that the Letters he wrote thereof to Secretary *Cecil* did much delight him: And, in an Anſwer he told him, he had read over his Letters ſeveral times, "Heartily Thanking "him for his large Letters; which contented him ſo well, as indeed he was delighted "to read them twice, or ſome thrice. And ſuch was *Smith*'s wiſe and true *Engliſh* Behaviour, and eloquent Utterance, that he got himſelf great Credit and Reputation among the French-men. Concerning which the Secretary, in one of his Letters to him, uſed theſe Words, "That he was glad to ſee his Credit "ſo good to do good: And indeed (added "he) uſing Wiſdom therewith, courteous and "gracious Speech (which was one of *Smith*'s "Accompliſhments) doth much profit. *Smith's Behaviour in his Embaſſy.*

And as that Nation was crafty and fine in all their Negotiations with other States, ſo our Ambaſſador uſed Art, to be a Match for them; for he made uſe of a certain ſubtil Spy in *Orleans*, whoſe Letters he received and diſpatched into *England*: And by the Intelligence gathered by this means our Ambaſſador did excellent Service, which occaſioned *Entertains a Subtil Spy.*

the

An. 1562. *Q. Eliz.*

the Secretary in a Letter to him, ſpeaking of *Smith*'s laſt Letters, and the Copy of others ſent to the ſaid *Smith* from *Orleans*, to ſay, "That he ſaw his great Diligence, and to "ſpeak in proper Terms, that he dealt very "cunningly, meet for the place he held: Ad-"viſing him to cheriſh the Party that ſerved "his Turn, and that he ſhould be kept out "of danger, whereby his Service might laſt "the longer. This he wrote to the Ambaſſa-dor in Cypher. The Secretary added, that he had notified him, and his Service, to the Queen's Majeſty; and ſo he bid the Ambaſſa-dor let him know.

His Com-plaint.

But notwithſtanding the Ambaſſador could not do that Service he would, for he com-plained that the Inſtructions from *England* came not to him; and he was perplexed for lack of Intelligence from thence. But the Secretary ſatisfied him in part concerning that Point, in the Anſwer he next made him; which was, That he knew not what more Inſtructions he could require than what he already had, which was to proſecute no o-ther Ends but the Reſtitution of *Calais*. And as to his dealing with the Prince of *Conde*, and the Admiral of *France*, whom the Secre-tary ſuſpected to be about making Peace with the *French* without the *Engliſh*, (as they did indeed not long after) he advertiſed him, how he ought to urge to them their Promiſes and Compacts under their Hands and Seals: And that if they ſhould have no regard to theſe, they might expect the Judgment of God

God upon them for their falſe Dealing. The Contents of the Contract between the Queen, and them, were, That She ſhould pay them a great Summ of Money, and ſend them ſix Thouſand Men for their Defence: And that they ſhould deliver into Her hands, for Caution, *Newhaven*, which She ſhould hold in her Hands till *Calais* ſhould be reſtored. The Letters that paſt from Sir *Thomas*, in this Embaſſy this Year, are ſtill extant in the Paper-Office in two Bundles: One whereof about a General Peace. And therein Letters alſo from *Middleton*, ſent from *Smith* to the Admiral of *France*. *An.* 1562. Q. Eliz.

Our Ambaſſador abode ſtill in *France*, until the next Year 1563. Then *Monſieur Briquemault* came over to the Queen from the Prince of *Conde*: Whoſe Buſineſs was to endeavour to bring the Queen not to inſiſt upon the Reſtitution of *Calais*, but to be ſatisfied with ſome other Terms. But in *May*, when he departed, She utterly denied that there was any other way of Satisfaction. And the Queen then alſo wrote Letters to her Ambaſſador to deal very roundly with the Prince and the Admiral. And ſo the Secretary thought they had deſerved, as he wrote to the Ambaſſador. And yet, as he added, he doubted not but the Ambaſſador would have Conſideration how to ſtrike therein, whether high or low. *An.* 1563. *The Ambaſſadors Inſtructions concerning the Prince of* Conde.

In Letters, our Ambaſſador *Smith* had lately ſent to the Court, he gave great content. Wherein as he advertiſed the Lords of the Council *The Ambaſſador ſends News to the Council.*

An. 1563. *Q. Eliz.*

Council plentifully of the Variety of News in *France*, ſo he gave good plain Rules how the ſame Advertiſements ſhould be taken and judged. And both the one and the other pleaſed them very well.

Ordered to ſpeak only in Latin in his Negotiation.

In his Negotiation with *France* this Year, when things were well nigh accorded, ſome Reports came out of *France*, which ſo offended the Queen, that ſhe altered her Reſolutions; and among other things commanded Sir *Thomas*, that whereas before he Negotiated in one Language (which I ſuppoſe was the *French*) he ſhould now uſe no other Language but Latin. Concerning which, thus the Secretary wrote to him: "This alterati-
"on of your Speech into Latin, I thought
"very ſtrange; but ſurely Her Majeſty had
"occaſion miniſtred by ſuch Reports as now
"were brought, to think the ſame were beſt.
"And therefore uſing no more the vulgar
"tongue of the Nation, but the Learned,
"things for the future might be kept more
"private; and therefore, added he, I know
"very well you can do this in the Latin as
"well as any Man, and I nothing doubt but
"that ye will do it.

Contention between Smith *and* Throg-morton.

Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, who returned into *France*, *July* 20th. and was Ambaſſador there with Sir *Thomas*, by means of ſecret practiſing at the Court, was arreſted by the *French* King's Order at *Caudebec* Auguſt 3. He was a Favourite of the Lord *Robert Dudeley*, and by his means diſpatched thither. This *Throgmorton* was ſubtile and active, and a man

a man of Intrigue. He and Sir *Thomas*, a perſon of more Gravity and Diſcretion, could not well comport together; *Throgmorton* rather hindring than furthering the Queen's Buſineſs by his over-practiſing. The Diſſenſion between them came to the Court. *Throgmorton* had a great Friend there, namely, the Lord *Robert Duddeley*; ſo Sir *Thomas*'s courſe was to ſue to the Secretary for his good Word. The Secretary wrote to him, that as he had promiſed him his Friendſhip, ſo he ſaw it well beſtowed. *Smith* alſo deſired him to acquaint the Lord *Robert* with the difference between him and Sir *Nicolas*, writing alſo the Caſe. This *Cecil* accordingly cauſed to be ſhewn, and procured Mr. *Somers* (one who was employed backward and forward in this Treaty between *England* and *France*) to report his knowledge, which it ſeems made more for Sir *Thomas*, than his own Writing did. But the wiſe Secretary wiſhed, as he ſaid, ſuch matters to be ſwallowed up in forgetfulneſs, knowing how by theſe private Animoſities between the Queen's Ambaſſadors publick Buſineſs was hindred. *An.* 1563. *K. Edw.* 6.

Smith alſo now ſent a Letter to the Lord *Robert* himſelf, which was writ with ſo much freedom and honeſt plainneſs, that it pleaſed the ſaid Lord, and ſet all right between the ſaid Ambaſſador and him. The Lord *Robert* ſhewed the Letter to *Cecil*, and much commended his plainneſs of Writing to him, and confeſſed it to be both wiſely and friendly done. For *Smith* was for Truth and Plainneſs, Smith's *Plainneſs pleaſeth the Lord* Robert.

An. 1563. *Q. Eliz.* neſs, as *Throgmorton* was for Doubling. And the Secretary was of *Smith*'s mind, telling him in his Correſpondence, "That he for his "part thought it always the beſt way ſo to "deal; for that though playing under Board "ſerved ſometimes the Jugglers, yet we ſaw "by proof in friendſhip it laſted not, but "brought inconvenience.

Inſtructions for Smith's dealing with the Proteſtants.

When the Prince of *Conde*, and the Admiral, as was hinted before, had made a ſeparate Peace with the French King, and *Newhaven* was ſurrendred to the *French* by the *Engliſh*, and Sir *Nich. Throgmorton* remained a priſoner to that King, *Smith*'s great Buſineſs now (being the month of *September*) was to get the ſaid Ambaſſador ſet at Liberty, and to get the Money lent in *March* laſt to the ſaid Prince and Admiral (which was 300000 Crowns) repaid, and withal to put them in mind of their Promiſes made to the Queen. The Secretary told him, That he ſhould gain great Good-will to recover the ſaid *Throgmorton*; and he thought whatever ſmall Colour or Pretence they had for his Confinement, that much Labour muſt obtain him. "And "Good Maſter *Smith*, added he, employ all "your Credit, and aſſay the Proteſtants there "to do ſomewhat like to their Promiſes. I "marvel what Anſwer the Prince, and the "the Admiral can make for the Money lent them. Tho' *Smith* himſelf was now confined at *Paris*, as a Priſoner, as he had been, *Aug.* 30. at *Melun*, the French King being then in *Normandy*; yet while he was thus con-

confined, he was ſent for *Sept.* 11. to the Court at *Corboil*: But ſoon after, that is, *Sept.* 13. he had Liberty granted, but not further than the City of *Paris*. The Grant of his full Liberty followed on the 17th. And ſo had the Queen confined the French Ambaſſador, but in no worſe place than Sir *Tho. Smith*'s own Lodgings at *Eton*. *An.* 1563. *Q. Eliz.*

In *November* our Ambaſſador was drawing to a Peace with the *French*, Orders having been ſent him to Conclude it. The Dealing was to be very private, that is to ſay, *Smith* alone, with one ſingle Perſon on the *French* ſide. But yet he had ſo much Experience of the Miſreports, and falſe Relations, which the *French* abounded with, that he was afraid to deal alone; thinking, that if ſome others were preſent, they might ſerve for Witneſſes, if occaſion ſhould be, of what paſſed on his part. This Scruple he communicated to his Friend the Secretary, who told him very well, That altho he might well be fearful to deal alone, yet in dealing alſo with one alone he could incur no peril of being miſreported: For that Equity would ſave them both, that one ſhould not convince another. *Smith treateth for Peace.*

Here let us make a little Halt, before we go on in our Relation of Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Managery of his publick Charge. And we ſhall take notice of ſome Matters of a more private Nature which fell out to him, or wherein he was concerned while he was here in *France*.

He had ſome cauſe to be jealous, how this his Negotiation was taken at Court; and was very *Dr.* Haddons *Advice to* Smith.

An. 1663. *Q. Eliz.* very desirous to know what his Friends here thought of him. And therefore to his intimate Friend Doctor *Haddon*, Master of the Requests, he signified his Desire to be informed herein by him; to which *Haddon* answered, "That *Smith* knew, that he was not acquainted with the secret Counsels of the "Court, but that those, who, in his Judgment, were the most intelligent among their "Friends, attributed much to his Wisdom and "Moderation; and specially *Cecil*, their common Friend, who always made Honorable "and Friendly mention of him. *Cicero* could "not correct *Cato*, as he confessed himself, he "might lightly mend him, and fashion him; "but *Haddon* could neither correct *Smith*, nor "mend him. But he would be the Author "of this Piece of Advice to him, that he should "be his own Counsellor, and that he should "transact Causes with himself, and not be "led away by the Blasts of Reports, or the "Storms arising from Fears; not to pursue those Purposes that he believed would "tend most to the benefit and right Administration of the State. Let who's will be "*Flamminius*, added he, I would have you to "be Q. *Fabius*; and I hope you will be so. *Terentius Varro*'s Fame flies through all Common-wealths; but the most happy Memory "of *Paulus Æmylius* is celebrated, even in his "most unhappy Death; for we cannot do any thing but may chance to fail sometimes; "and where things are wisely foreseen, they "ought to have a just Praise, however "some

" ſome Accident may turn them to diſadvan-
" tage; and he adviſed him to have that of *An.* 1563. *Q. Eliz.*
" old *Ennius* in his memory,

Non ponebat enim rumores ante ſalutem.

" And the mind, ſaid he, cannot remain ſted-
" dy in publick Cauſes, nor Counſels conſiſt
" together, unleſs there be a Conſtancy in
" our Doings accompanying. He acknow-
" ledged *Smith*'s Condition, in this reſpect,
" was ſomewhat hard, and that he received
" the Laws of his Embaſſy from others, and
" managed the Affairs of the State by Preſcrip-
" tions laid down to him. Yet as you may,
" ſaid he, interpoſe your ſelf, and be not ſi-
" lent when you perceive any thing that may
" turn to the help and benefit of us your
" Countrymen at home. He went on in his
" Counſels to his Friend: He bad him aban-
" don all Converſe with looſe Women, for
" they blunted the Edge of the Mind, and af-
" forded nothing but ſudden Miſchiefs of Bo-
" dy and Soul: That he ſhould not be too
" much diſturbed at the Offences, the Paſſions,
" and the Miſtakes of others, as becoming
" neither his Prudence, nor Learning, nor
" manner of Life. For the various Inclina-
" tions and thoughts of Men have ever pro-
" duced ſuch Waves and high Tydes in hu-
" mane Life, and will do ſo to the end: In
" which, if we proceed with Reaſon, as much
" as we can, we ſhall be upheld with the
" Conſcience of our good Deeds. Nor ſhall
" the haſty Guſts of Fortune, move a mind

An. 1563. *Q. Eliz.*

" founded in Wiſdom. Then he remembred " him of his own former excellent Diſcour- " ſes, concerning Patience and Fortitude, and " of the Praiſe of the Mind of Man. And " he asked him to what end they tended, " being uttered by him with ſo much mo- " ving Eloquence. What? ſaid he, only to " lie hid in the Schools, where he once ſpake " them? Or, to be encloſed within the Walls " of *Cambridge*? Or, may they not ſhew " themſelves abroad, and be ſeen in the Sun, " and be brought forth into Act? Will they " not accompany you in *France*, if need be? " For my part, I ſhould not much eſteem " theſe Arts, in which I know you are ex- " cellently inſtructed, unleſs they be now " preſent with you, when you have moſt " need of them; nor ſhould I think you " wiſe at all, if in theſe difficult times you be " abſent from your ſelf, when you ought e- " ſpecially to be preſent. Theſe were the " brave Philoſophical Arguments that one " Scholar entertained the other with.

CHAP.

An. 1563. *Q. Eliz.*

CHAP. IX.

Oſorius *his Letter to the Queen, and Dr.* Haddon's *Anſwer. Difference between* Smith *and* Throgmorton, *the Queen's joint Ambaſſadors.* Smith *and* Cecil *Friends.*

The Ambaſſador ſends over Books to Cecil.

BEſides publick Matters, the Secretary held a more private Correſpondency with our Ambaſſador, as occaſion happened, concerning Learning and Religion; and according to his Order, *Smith* procured and ſent him divers Books, which where not to be had at home. Thus once he conveyed over *Onuphrius* and *Polydore*, and certain *French* Books of Genealogy and Chronology for the Secretary.

Smith to procure a Book to be Printed in France.

There had been a dangerous Book wrote in Latin, and lately printed abroad againſt the preſent State of Religion in *England*. An Anſwer to which, in the ſame Language, the Secretary had procured, and wanted nothing but to have it printed abroad, as the other was. In a Letter wrote to the Ambaſſador, dated *November* 28th. he wiſhed he had a ſight of it, and that he would give his allowance thereof by ſome Commendatory Epiſtle to be added; and if he could by ſome good means, procure it to be well printed in *France*, without peril of the Book, he would ſend him the Copy: Or if he could get it

An. 1563. Q. *Eliz.*

Printed at *Strasburgh*, or *Basil*, by some means from thence, he would also send it him; but if he could not, he would send by some of his Men to *Christopher Mount*, the Queen's Agent in *Strasburgh*, for him to take care for the Publishing of it.

Osorius's Epistle to the Queen.

But to relate a few particulars of this Book, which made no small stir in these Days. *Hieronymus Osorius*, a *Portugal*, then a private Man, afterwards Bishop of *Arcoburge* or *Sylvane*, wrote an Epistle to Queen *Elizabeth*, in an elegant Latin Stile, being nothing in effect but an Admonition to Her to wheel about to Popery. In this Epistle, he imagined many monstrous Errors to be nurselled in our Church, and with much reproachful Language, depraved the Professors of the Gospel. This Libel was soon after printed in *France*, both in Latin and French; as it was also printed in English at *Antwerp*, *Ann.* 1565. Translated by one *Richard Shacklock*, M. A. and Student of the Civil Law in *Lovain*, and Intituled, *A Pearl for a Prince.*

Answered by Haddon.

This the State thought necessary to have an Answer to, because, it reflected much upon the Justice and Wisdom of the Nation. Dr. *Walter Haddon*, one of the finest Learning, and of the most *Ciceronian* stile in *England*, was imployed to answer this Foreigners Book, which he finished in this Year, 1563. Beginning, *Legi, Hieronyme, tuam Epistolam*, &c. It is extant in the said *Haddon's* Lucubrations, Published by *Hatcher* of *Cambridge*.

In

In the Beginning, *Haddon* ſhewed the Cauſe of his anſwering of *Oſorius*, and of his publiſhing the ſame; namely, that *Oſorius* had indeed writ his Epiſtle ſeparately to the Queen; yet it ſeemed to be intended for all, becauſe it was publiſhed in Print, and was open to the Eyes of all Men. He added, that this Author had taken much upon him, that he, being a private Man, and at a great diſtance, both by Sea and Land, unacquainted alſo with *Engliſh* Affairs, ſhould ſo confidently take upon him to ſpeak to the Queens Majeſty; that he diminiſhed the Dignity of the Laws of *England*, and that in general, he made the Nation guilty of a wicked and malicious kind of Novelty. *Haddon* in his Anſwer ſtudied Brevity; and they were only ſome particular Points, whereunto he thought good to Anſwer, although not to the full neither: Becauſe he ſuppoſed (as he wrote in his Apology) that *Oſorius* might be deluded by ſome malicious Reports of our Adverſaries. *An.* 1563. Q. *Eliz.*

Haddon's Book being thus prepared, the care was to get it publiſhed: And becauſe *Oſorius* was printed in *France*, both in Latin and French, *Cecil* thought it convenient, that *Haddon*'s ſaid Anſwer ſhould be printed in the ſame Place, and in both the ſame Languages. Hereupon the ſaid *Cecil* in *January*, ſent the Treatiſe to our Ambaſſador, deſiring him to procure the Printing of it, and that with all Expedition: And that he would add to it ſomething by his own hand, where and as he thought good, and that he would pro- *This Anſwer recommended to* Smith *to reviſe,*

cure it to ſpeak *French*, and to be publiſhed in that Language alſo. And accordingly this Epiſtle Reſponſory of Dr. *Haddon*, was ſo well conſidered over, and weighed by *Smith*, and had his Caſtigations, that it might be reckoned to be *Smith's* Work as well as *Haddon's*. For *Haddon* alſo had entreated him to ponder diligently his Anſwer, that nothing might be in it, but what was fit to be ſeen and read for the Vindication of the Queen and Realm.

An. 1563. *Q. Eliz.*

And Publiſh.

Smith alſo ſpake to *Robert Stephens*, the *French* King's Printer, that he would take it in hand. He deſiring the Copy, to ſee whether there were any thing in it, which touched the State of that Kingdom, as alſo to conſider the Bulk of the Book, and on Condition, he had leave of the Queen, undertook to do it. But it received ſome ſtop by this means, (which probably enough might have been a thing plotted by *Oſorius*'s Friends, or Queen *Elizabeth*'s, and the Nations Enemies.) One *de Valla* came to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, and deſired he might have the ſight of this Epiſtle of *Haddon*'s; and whether he had the Ambaſſador's leave or no, went to *Stephens* as from the Ambaſſador, and took the Book from him to peruſe it for a time. But while it was in *de Valla*'s Poſſeſſion, the Provoſt Marſhal arreſted the ſaid *de Valla*, upon pretence of ſome Crime, and withal, took this Book out of his hand, and ſo it was brought to the Court, and remained in the poſſeſſion of the ſaid Provoſt. This created work for the Ambaſſador.

So

So he wrote to the Chancellor of *France*, acquainting him with the whole matter; relating to him, how *Oſorius* had in the Book traduced the Manners, Lives and Religion of *England*, not according to the truth of the thing, as indeed it was, but according to his Apprehenſion; and as ignorant Men had out of Envy repreſented matters to him. And that if he had kept his Book within its own Bounds, and in the Shadow of his own Cloſet, no matter would have been made of it: But when he had made that publick Vaunt of his performance, by ſetting it forth in Print, and making a Boaſt of himſelf to the World, in this new and unuſual Argument, what did he do, but diſplay to all, not only how ignorant he was of the Inſtitution, Manners and Cuſtoms, which we, ſaid he, uſe at preſent in *England*, but how little he knew of thoſe Controverſies and Queſtions, which now exerciſed the whole Chriſtian World, and to the underſtanding, whereof the minds of all were ſo intent? Thus the Ambaſſador diſcourſed in his Letter. Two things therefore in Concluſion he requeſted of the Chancellor; one was, that after he had read this Epiſtle of Dr. *Haddon*, he would procure, that the Copy might be reſtored to *Stephens* to Print it *Cum Privilegio*; or if that were not allowed, yet that he might not be hindred from printing it in Latin and French. Or if yet that would not be granted, at leaſt to reſtore the Copy, that it might be printed elſewhere. This was written by *Smith*, *March* 6th.

An. 1563. *Q. Eliz.*

A Licence for which he labours to obtain from the Chancellor.

6th. from *Melum*, a place about twenty Miles from *Paris*.

An. 1563. *Q. Eliz.*

To which the Chancellor gave this Answer, That the *French* Queen was much offended with those Folks that presumed to print *Osorius* his Book in *France* without the King's Licence, and commanded him, the Chancellor, to enquire after those that dared to Publish it, and to see them punished. He prayed *Smith*, or his Messenger to procure him one of *Osorius*'s Books, that he might peruse it in order to the taking of Punishment on the Printers. That the Queen, as he said, might know, that good Kings, even in War, have a care of the Honour of crown'd Heads. But disapproving the doing it as they did, they could not, he said, permit of *Haddon*'s Answer to be printed; and so the *French* Queen ordered the Copy of the said Book to be sent back.

Which he will not grant.

Smith followed this Business, and sent the Chancellor a Copy of *Osorius* in *French*, which he had gotten at *Paris*; for all the Latin ones were dispersed and sold, as the Bookseller had plainly reported, and that he had printed about 500, for he had no need to deny it. For in expres Words it appeared, that the Book was Printed *Cum Privilegio*. So that, as he wrote to the Chancellor, it was not possible to suppress the Book, being printed with Authority, nor punish the Printer who had such Licence; and now to prohibit them to be Sold, was, as he expressed it to him, to shut the Cage, when the Birds were flown.

Smith *presseth it.*

Smith

An. 1563. Q. *Eliz.*

Argues with the Chancellor of France *about it.*

Smith therefore further preſſed the Chancellor in this manner; That this only remained, *viz.* that both Parties ſhould be heard, as well he that made the Anſwer, as he that put in the Caution. And whereas the Chancellor thought it inconvenient to allow *Haddon*'s Book to be printed, becauſe it would be nothing but a contending in Reproaches and ill Words; *Smith* ſaid, that there would be no ſuch rude Contention between them, but that whereas *Oſorius*, in an Oratorical way, ſhook our Forms of Religion, and taxed the Manners of certain Men; *Haddon* ſhewed, that *Oſorius* indeed knew neither the one nor the other, and that ſuch was the ſtate of the thing, that in his Judgment, it were better, that both their Orations ſhould be Read, than either be ſuppreſt: For that, both of them were wrote Eloquently, and in Latin; and that which they wrote, did not at all touch the State of *France*. Boldly adding, That when *Oſorius* had a Liberty *Cum Privilegio*, of accuſing our Forms, we ſeemed to demand that which was but equal of him, the Chancellor of *France*, namely to be heard with the like Privilege; and that it muſt ſeem hard, that a liberty of Haranguing ſhould be granted to one Party only. The effect of this was, that our Ambaſſador got the Book Printed not long after, as ſhall be related in due place.

The Progreſs of this Controverſy.

But though *Smith* was not concerned any further in this Affair, after he had brought the Book to the Preſs with his own Corrections and Additions; yet it may not be amiſs to relate

relate the Progreſs of this Controverſy, which
An. 1563. *Q. Eliz.* I ſhall do briefly. There paſt over a year or two, and Dr. *Haddon* was appointed the Queen's Agent in *Flanders*, and was Leiger at *Bruges*. At what time one *Emanuel Dalmada*, a *Portugueſe* Born, Biſhop of *Angrence*, ſuddenly ſprung up in *Bruſſels*, and undertook the Defence of his Friend *Oſorius*: Stuffing a great Volume full of Slanders and Brabbles. And in the end of the Book he had cauſed certain ugly Pictures to be pourtrayed; thereby to deface *Haddon*'s Perſonage as much as he might. This Apology (for ſo it was called) when *Haddon* peruſed, he profeſſed he never ſaw ſo fooliſh and unſavory a Writing, full of Scoffs and Abſurdities. The Author therefore he deſpiſed as one altogether unlettered, and ſo dull by Nature, that he was oftentimes a jeſting Stock among the wiſer ſort of his own Fraternity. But after ſome more time, Dr. *Tho. Wylſon*, the Queen's Ambaſſador in *Portugal* coming home, at *Oſorius*'s Requeſt, brought certain Volumes of the ſaid *Oſorius*'s compoſing againſt *Haddon*'s Anſwer, digeſted into three Books. Whereof he delivered one to *Haddon*. Who received it gladly, and peruſed it once or twice: Having hoped that he being then inſtalled a Biſhop, would have been much more modeſt than before. But the Matter fell out quite contrary. For inſtead of a civil and ſober Perſon, he found him a moſt frivolous Sophiſter, (I uſe *Haddon*'s own Words) for a grave Divine, a childiſh Counterfeit: And in the Book, of Vanity and Haughtineſs

Haughtineſs good ſtore. To this Book, *Haddon* ſoon after began the writing of an *Anſwer Apologetical* againſt the ſaid *Oſorius*'s ſlanderous Invectives, as he ſtiled them, for the neceſſary Defence of the Evangelical Doctrine and Verity: And dedicated it to *Sebaſtian*, King of *Portugal*, as *Oſorius* had done his Letter before to the Queen. Which as ſhe had gently entertained and peruſed, ſo he perſwaded himſelf to obtain the like Favour of that King's Magnificence and heroical Clemency. In this Apology, *Haddon* made ſome Progreſs, but died before he finiſhed it. And the reſt of it, which was the greater part, was done very Learnedly by *John Fox*; and printed about the Year 1573. And after by *James Bell*, put into Engliſh and printed 1581. *An.* 1563. *Q. Eliz.*

But turn we now again to our Ambaſſador Reſident in *France*. He and Sir *Nic. Throgmorton*, joint-Ambaſſador with him there, did not well accord. Which was well enough known at Court. This gave the Secretary a great Concern, for fear of ſome miſcarriage in publick Buſineſs by means thereof. And in *December*, in one of his Letters to *Smith*, taking notice of it he told him, that he hoped nevertheleſs, *That Both, for their Wiſdoms, would have regard of the Queen's Affairs, and one of them bear with the other. For ſo ſhould both of them deſerve Commendation.* And in another Letter he tells *Smith*, that he was ſorry to ſee things between them no better temporized. *Wiſdom*, ſaid he, *muſt rule you both.* *Difference between the two Ambaſſadors.*

And

An. 1563. Q. Eliz.

And ſurely otherwiſe ye ſhall both take the Blame alike, tho' ye be not both percaſe alike to blame.

Some Character of Throgmorton.

This *Throgmorton*, to give here ſome Character of him, was a buſy-headed Man, full of Intrigue, a Favourite of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and an Emulator of *Cecil*. For his over-buſineſs in the *French* Court he was made a Priſoner, tho' then the Queen's Ambaſſador. And in that Condition he remained ſome time, namely, ſo long till the Peace was concluded; tho' he ſtill acted as the Queen's Ambaſſador. He was ſomewhat impatient to remain ſo long under Reſtraint, and thought that *Cecil* was not ſufficiently diligent to get him his Liberty. But *Cecil* underſtanding it wrote to his Fellow-Ambaſſador to this Import, "That as he had promiſed *Smith* his "Friendſhip, ſo he had done the like to *Throg*-"*morton*, tho' ſome Clouds, he ſaid, let the "Influence of his good Will to be felt of "him. Proteſting that for his own part, God "be his Judge and Avenger for all his evil "meaning to him in all thoſe Times. And as he was angry at *Cecil*, whom he did not much love before, ſo he was eaſily inclined to blame him upon any ſuſpicion. As in the next Year 1564. remaining under Confinement ſtill, he was very wroth with the *French*-Ambaſſador Reſident in *England*, to whom he bore a great Malice. And yet ſuch was his Fineneſs and Diſſimulation, that at the latter end of that Year, being at Liberty, and here at home, he grew very great with the ſame

French

French Gentleman. *Cecil* took notice of it, and wrote to *Smith*, that he thought it ſtrange to ſee what great Amity now was between the *French*-Ambaſſador and Mr. *Throgmorton*, conſidering the Hate he had before born him. It was ſtrange to *Cecil*, a plain-dealing Man, and of no Turnings and Windings, tho' a great and wiſe Politician. But *Throgmorton* could play the Courtier, and pretend Friendſhip in colour for ſome private ends of his own, when the ſame diſtempered Spirit lurked ſtill within him that did before. *An.* 1563. *Q. Eliz.*

And happy was *Smith* in the Friendſhip of the foreſaid *Cecil*, who as he was a wiſe and good Man, ſo moſt ſincere and cordial in his Nature. And yet once had our Ambaſſador taken ſomething ill at his Hands, according to an ill Office that ſome had done between them, repreſenting him as guilty of ſome Unkindneſs towards Sir *Thomas*. Whereat he very plainly and freely, in his next Letters dated in *December*, told him of it. This Freedom the Secretary took in good part, and valued in Truth his Friendſhip the more for it, telling him, that *He had much Cauſe to thank him for his Friendly Dealing with him, and as much more cauſe to praiſe him for his open and plain Dealing. Which I aſſure you, on my Faith*, as he ſaid, *I do allow more in you than any other part of your Friendſhip*. And hence he took occaſion to give this good piece of Advice to him, *viz.* wiſhing him to uſe all Integrity in his Tranſactions, that he might have the Teſtimony of a good Conſcience. Not- *Cecil's and Smith's Friendſhip.*

with-

withſtanding which Counſel he reckoned that he needed not to give it him. "For, added "he piouſly and gravely, when all the Glory "and Wit, when all the Wealth and Delight "of this World is paſt, we muſt come before "the Judge that will exact this Rule of us to "diſcern us from the Goats.

An. 1563. *Q. Eliz.*

CHAP. X.

Peace with France. Smith *continues Ambaſſador there. His Book of the Commonwealth of* England. *Returns. A Review of his Embaſſy.*

IN the Beginning of the Year 1564. by the Means and Labour of Sir *Tho. Smith*, and Sir *Nic. Throgmorton* his Collegue, Peace was concluded with *France*. Which was to take place on the 23d of *April*. It was proclaimed in *London* the 22d, and on the 23d, a notable good Sermon was made at St. *Paul*'s with *Te Deum* ſung, and all incident Solemnities. The ſame Day it was publiſhed at *Windſor* in the Queen's preſence, going to Church, and having with her the *French*-Ambaſſador. So as nothing wanted to ſhew Contentation. The Queen alſo now ſent over the Garter, to be preſented to that King by the Lord *Hunſdon*, Sir *Tho. Smith*, and Sir *Gilb. Dethic*, King of Arms.

An. 1564.

Smith *effects a Peace.*

After

After the Peace was concluded, Sir *Tho. Smith* ſtill reſided in *France*. And now one of his great Buſineſſes was to get ſome good Anſwer for the Money due by the Prince of *Conde* to the Queen. *An.* 1564. Q. *Eliz.* *Solicits the Queen's Debt.*

In *September*, Sir *Thomas*, deſirous of returning, ſolicited by the Secretary his ſending for home. But the Secretary could not attain of the Queen a Determination about it, perceiving in her a Diſpoſition rather to have him continue till that King ſhould return back from thoſe South Parts where he then was. But this Care however ſhe took for him, that for avoiding of the Plague, which then reigned in *France*, ſhe would have him forbear to follow the Court in dangerous Places. Conſidering, as ſhe ſaid, the *French* Ambaſſador did forbear to follow her Court all her laſt Progreſs into the North, taking his Eaſe at *London*; altho' he was by ſome means moved to the contrary: Wherewith her Majeſty was ſomewhat offended. Wherefore ſhe admoniſhed *Smith* in like manner, according to his Convenience, to forbear ſo diligent a following of that Court as hitherto he had uſed. *The Queen continues him Ambaſſador.*

In this Month of *September*, the *Rhinegrave* being in *France*, dealt with our Ambaſſador concerning a Match between the Archduke the Emperor's Son, and Queen *Elizabeth*; With which he acquainted the Secretary. To which the Secretary replyed, That it would be very ſeaſonable, if it were honourably propounded. Sir *Thomas* afterwards *A Match for the Queen propounded to him.*

wrote

wrote him, that he ſhould hear more of this another way.

An. 1565. *Q. Eliz.*

In *March*, the beginning of the Year 1565. did Sir *Thomas* finiſh his known Tract of the *Common-wealth of England*, and the Manner of the Government thereof; Conſiſting of three Books. The firſt whereof was concerning the Diverſities of Common-wealths or Governments. And therein he treated of the Gentlemen of *England*. Which he divided into the Great and Leſs Nobility, and of the other Ranks of Men in this Country. The Second Book was taken up in ſhewing particularly the Laws of the Realm. The Third was concerning Appeals, of the Courts of Star-Chamber, Wards and Liveries, *&c.* This excellent Book he wrote at his leiſure Hours, while he was abroad in this his Embaſſy in *France*: Occaſioned, as it ſeemeth, by certain Diſcourſes he had with ſome Learned Men there concerning the variety of Common-wealths. Wherein ſome did endeavour to under-value the *Engliſh* Government in compariſon with that in other Countries, where the Civil Law took place. His drift herein was, as he tells us himſelf in the Concluſion of his Book, to ſet before us the principal Points, wherein the *Engliſh* Policy at that Time differed from that uſed in *France*, *Italy*, *Spain*, *Germany* and all other Countries, which followed the Civil Law of the *Romans*, compiled by *Juſtinian* in his Pandects and Code. And this Tract of his, being as a Project or Table of a Common-wealth laid before the Reader, he recom-

Smith *finiſheth his Book of the Common-wealth.*

commended to be compared with the Common-wealths, which at that Day were *in Eſſe*, or with others which did remain deſcribed in true Hiſtories; Eſpecially in ſuch Points wherein the one differed from the other: To ſee which had taken the more right, truer and more commodious way to Govern the People as well in War as in Peace. This, he ſaid, would be no illiberal Occupation for him that was a Philoſopher, and had a delight in Diſputing; nor unprofitable for him that had to do with, or had good will to ſerve the Prince and Common-wealth, in giving Counſel for the better Adminiſtration thereof. This was written in Latin as well as in Engliſh; and many were the Copies taken of it, till at laſt it was Printed, tho' I think not before the Year 1621. when it came forth in Engliſh in the old Black Letter. *An.* 1565. *Q. Eliz.*

From the 5th of *Auguſt*, to the 30th of *October*, *Smith*'s extraordinary Charges, which he brought in to the Queen, amounted to 103 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* And as a good part of which was for his Servants, ſome ſent into *England*, and others to the *French* Court, (the King being then in his Progreſs, and *Smith* not always following the Court) ſo the greateſt part was ſpent in gratifying Spies and Intelligencers; whereof he had both *Scots* and *French*. Of theſe was *De Rege*, whom in *Auguſt*, he gratified with 6 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* and in *October* following with the like Sum. Of theſe *French* were alſo *La Selle*, *La Fere*, *Le Meilleur*, *Le* *His extraordinary Expences.*

Gras. To whom he gave Monthly, to ſome *An.* 1565. 4 *l.* to ſome 3 *l.* and to ſome 40 *s.* Q. *Eliz.*

Smith's *Son with his Father.*

In this Embaſſy, Sir *Thomas Smith*'s only Son was with him. Whom he took along with him to learn Accompliſhments in a foreign Court. In the Month of *Auguſt*, he came to Secretary *Cecil*, his Father having ſent him over with a Meſſage to the ſaid Secretary. Who let his Father know, that he was very welcome to him, and that he liked him well, wiſhing that he were with him again: For that he ſeemed to have well profited in Obſervation of many things there. In *October*, the ſaid young Gentleman went back to *France*, with Letters from the Secretary to his Father.

He labours to come home.

Sir *Thomas* ſeemed now to be near the accompliſhment of his earneſt Deſires. For the Queen, in *October*, determined the Secretary's Brother-in-Law, Mr. *Tho Hoby*, ſhould go in Sir *Thomas Smith*'s place: Tho' he it ſeems had no great Stomach to it. For when it was moved to him by the Secretary, he took it unkindly at his Hands. The Queen underſtanding it, willed the Earl of *Leiceſter* to let him underſtand peremptorily her Majeſty's Pleaſure. Of this the Secretary adviſed Sir *Thomas*, adding that this, tho' unwillingly, he knew his Brother would not deny: And that the Earl had promiſed him to ſend for his Brother, but yet it was not done: And that he, the Secretary, therefore meant to have my Lady, Sir *Thomas*'s Wife, either to ſpeak or ſend to his Lordſhip, to preſs the Buſineſs.

After

After the Winter was paſt and gone, on the 26th day of *March*, Mr. *Hoby* took his leave of her Majeſty, in order to his Embaſſy, promiſing to be at the Sea-ſide within Ten Days. So that in the beginning of the Year 1566. Sir *Thomas* ſeems to have come home from his long Embaſſy in *France*. *An.* 1565. Q. *Eliz.* *He returns.*

To take up a few further Remarks of this Embaſſy at the *French* Court, *Smith* was apprehenſive of the Difficulty of performing this his Negotiation to the Approbation of others; knowing the tickliſh Station wherein he ſtood; and that his Abſence might give occaſion to ſome to Slander or Miſrepreſent him. On which account, and being willing to know what Reports went of him, he deſired his Friend Dr. *Haddon*, Maſter of the Requeſts, to inform him what Opinions his Friends of Sway and Authority had of his Diſcharge of the Affairs committed to him; and what he heard in his Doings that pleaſed or diſpleaſed. And the Reaſon *Smith* gave was, becauſe *it was a very difficult thing for one that was concerned in the Managery of publick Affairs, ſo to perform his Actions in one and the ſame conſtant Tenor, as to be always applauded.* *He is inquiſitive how his Negotiation is accepted.*

Sir *Thomas* had the Opportunity, in the Purſuit of his Embaſſy for the Service of his Miſtreſs, to travel through many Parts of *France*, that King going in Progreſs in the Year 1564. and our Ambaſſador attending the Court. He was at *Avignion*, whither the Court ſeemed to remove chiefly for the Plague *He follows the Court in* France.

that raged very ſore now in that Kingdom, as it had done the laſt Year in *Newhaven*, and in *London*. In *April*, he was at *Bourdeaux*, as he had been at *Tholouſe* before. At *Bourdeaux*, he was taken with a Fever or Ague: Which creeping on him at firſt, came at length to that Violence that he deſpaired of his Life: And on a ſudden it abated: And then he let Blood. Whereby in little more than a Day he felt himſelf to grow towards Recovery, both in Body and Mind. The next Day he hunted the Hare, that he might enjoy a more free Air. Which Exerciſe he continued for ſome Days. And from the 1ſt of *March* to the 12th (he writ it to ſome of his Friends as his Diverſion) his Dogs caught nineteen Hares.

An. 1565. *Q. Eliz.*

His Reflection upon his hearing of the Queen's going to Cambridge.

While he was in theſe Southern Parts of *France*, his Friends wrote him word of the Queen's intended Progreſs into the North, and that ſhe would take a ſight of *Cambridge* in her way, to viſit that Univerſity, and to hear the Scholars Diſputations. When *Smith* heard it, he heartily wiſht to be among them; Not to Feaſt, or Hunt, or to indulge his Genius on this ſplendid Occaſion, (he was above thoſe things) but to ſee, as he ſaid, his Royal Miſtreſs a Spectator there, in a Place ſo dearly by him affected, and to partake of the *Specimina* of thoſe Wits, and to take notice what new Men of Learning and Ingenuity were ſprung up in that Univerſity ſince he left it.

At

At *Tholouſe*, in his leiſure Hours, he wrote three Books of the Engliſh Common-wealth (mentioned before) which he Intitled *De Republica Anglorum*. Wherein he deſcribed in effect the whole Form of it: Eſpecially in thoſe Things wherein it differed from others. And it differed almoſt in all Things. So that the Work grew greater than he thought of. He wrote it in our Language, in a Stile between Hiſtorical and Philoſophical; after that Form as he conceived *Ariſtotle* wrote concerning divers of the Græcian Common-wealths: Which Writings are now periſhed. Of this he wrote to his Learned Friend *Haddon*, in his Correſpondence with him in the Year 1564. Adding, that he had yielded a very copious Argument to ſuch as would diſpute in a Philoſophical way of the ſingle Queſtions, and whether is better, that which is held for Law in *England*, or that which in *France* is ſo held, and in other Provinces which are governed by the *Roman* Laws. For almoſt all, as he ſaid, were different: And that he had in groſs and in ſum examined both. This he drew up in the Year 1564. And as theſe Writings were as yet but in rough Draught, when written fair, he promiſed *Haddon* he would ſend them to him. And the value himſelf had of this his Labour may appear in thoſe Words of his Letter to the before-mentioned Learned Man: "You "will ſee your ſelf certainly as I think, when "you have read it over, that I was not careleſly converſant in our Countries Common-

Ann. 1565. Q. Eliz.

He compoſeth his Book of the Common-wealth at Thouſe.

An. 1565. *Q. Eliz.*

"wealth. Some vacant ſpaces he had left in his Manuſcript here and there, becauſe he had not with him one Book of the Engliſh Laws, nor had he there Lawyers to conſult with. Therefore he wrote ſo much as the memory of things ſeen and read by him on the ſudden ſuggeſted to him. And what was imperfect, he intended when he returned home, at leiſure to ſupply.

He enquireth for Learned Men in Paris.

While the Learned *Smith* was in *Paris*, he could not forbear to enquire for the Learned Men there, to enjoy their Converſation at his ſpare Hours. Here he met with *Peter Ramus* the Philoſopher, and *Ludovicus Regius* an Hiſtorian, and other Profeſſors of Science; who were the King's Readers. To *Ramus*'s Acquaintance *Haddon* had particularly recommended him. But the Wars proclaimed between Princes, and the Times were ſuch, that *Smith* could not ſo frequently converſe and hold that Familiarity with them that he wiſht. Tho' with theſe in *Paris*, his Converſe was ſo much, that he called them his *Convictores*. But he added, that he had his *Convictrices* too, *i. e.* his *She-Companions* and daily *Gueſts*, which created him as much Sorrow and Anxiety, as the others did pleaſure. And theſe were (as he explained himſelf) Solicitudes, Cares, Damage to his Domeſtick Concerns in *England*, greater Charges than he could well bear, doubtful Diſputations, various Emulations and Opinions.

In a Letter to Haddon.

While

An. 1565. Q. Eliz.

He procures the printing of the Answer to Osorius.

While *Smith* was here, he procured the Printing of the Answer to *Osorius*, for the Vindication of the Queen, and the Proceedings of the Realm in the Reformation of Religion, as was mentioned before; when the Reader was told of the Difficulty that *Smith* met with, while he required that State's Allowance for the publishing thereof. But at last he got it into the Press at his own Charge. Which made Dr. *Haddon*, the Author, after the publishing of the Book, write to him, *Multum tibi Responsum debet Osorianum*, i. e. That the Answer to *Osorius* owed much to him. And as for *Smith*'s Judgment of this Answer, it was this, as he wrote to the said *Haddon*, "That he conflicted with an Adversa-"ry too unequal for him. For *Osorius* brought "nothing beside the bare Imitation of *Cicero*, "and the Ignorance of that he undertook to "treat of. Which *Haddon* pointed him to as "it were with his Finger: Yet with much "Modesty, and without sharpness of Words. By *April*, 1564. *Smith* had so compleated the printing of the Book, that he sent over some Copies to the Secretary.

His Correspondence with Haddon, Ambassador in Flanders.

The aforesaid Dr. *Haddon*, Master of the Requests, was the Queen's Ambassador at *Bruges*, at the same time that our *Smith* was in the like Quality in *France*. Between whom a friendly and learned Correspondence was maintained. They both were Ambassadors abroad in the Years 1562, 1564, 1565, 1566. Divers of the Letters written between them are printed in *Haddon*'s Posthumous Pieces

published by *Hatcher* of *Cambridge*, *An.* 1567. *Smith* was a great Lover and Reader of *Plato*, as *Haddon* was of *Tully*. In relation to which, thus did *Haddon* from *Burges* write to *Smith* in *France*; "Your *Plato* will not "suffer you, nor my *Tully* me, "to be our own, who would "have us serve our Country; "and as we at first received all "that we have from it, so to re- "turn all back to it again. This he said, to comfort *Smith* and himself under their present Distances from their Country, their Pains and Expences in their Embassies for the Service of their Queen and Country; The troubles whereof they were apt sometimes to lay to heart.

An. 1565. Q. *Eliz.*

Plato, *te non sinit esse tuus, nec meus me* Cicero, *qui Patriæ nos servire volunt, & illi reddi omnia, unde universa prius accepimus.*

Smith's *Opinion of* Tullies *Philosophy and Law.*

At another Time, *viz.* in the Year 1562. *Haddon* appealed to *Smith*, as a Judge in a Dispute between him and the *French* Ambassador at *Bruges*, upon *Cicero*'s Skill both in Law and Philosophy. For *Haddon* happening to Sup once with that Ambassador, upon some occasion *Cicero* was cited, when the Ambassador did admit him to be the best Orator, but he would not allow him at all to be skilled in Law, and that he was but a mean Philosopher. *Haddon* stood up for the Honour of his Master, and affirmed that he was a very good Lawyer, and a most excellent Philosopher. Whereupon they fell into a very hot Argument, that they could hardly make an end. Concerning this, he took occasion in his next Letter to write unto *Smith*, telling him, that he

he wiſhed this Controverſy might have had his Judgment, *Cui non minus uni tribuo, quam* Platoni *Poeta neſcio quis, à reliquis deſtitutus*: i. e. To whom alone he attributed as much as a certain Poet did to *Plato*, when he had none elſe of his ſide. *Smith* on the next occaſion in his to *Haddon*, thus communicated his Judgment; "That if any doubted whe-
"ther *Cicero* was a Lawyer, it was not to be
"wondered at, becauſe Men for the moſt part
"are ignorant of Age and Times. That *Ci-*
"*cero* was not of thoſe in that Time that pro-
"feſſed the Civil Law, but yet he was *Jure-*
"*conſultiſſimus*, *Admirably skilled in it*: Which
"not only many of his Pleadings and Orati-
"ons demonſtrate, but his *Topics* to *Treba-*
"*tius*. And he eſteemed himſelf ſo to have
"profited herein, that he openly declared one
"Day, *If they vexed him he would the third*
"*Day after profeſs the Civil Law*. But he
"never ſaw indeed *Accurſius*, nor *Bartholus*,
"nor *Baldus*, nor *Jaſon*, nor the *Digeſts*, nor
"Code of *Juſtinian*. A good Reaſon why,
"becauſe they were not in being in his Time.
"But ſo thorowly had he learned the Laws of
"that Time, that unleſs he had been an Ora-
"tor, he had been eſteemed the Learnedeſt
"Civilian. If he that is a Lawyer deny him
"to be a Philoſopher, that Anſwer will
"eaſily be given to him, that *Apelles* gave
"the Shooe-maker, *Let him not give his Judg-*
"*ment beyond his Slipper*. But for his Philo-
"ſophy, he betook them that denied it to his
"Book *De Deo*, *De Divinatione*, or what he

An. 1565. Q. Eliz.

"treated

An. 1565. *Q. Eliz.*

"treated of in his other Philosophical Differ-
"tations.

His Reflection on the Troubles occasioned by Hales's Book.

In *April*, 1564. Secretary *Cecil* writ our Ambassador the News of the Disturbance at Court, occasioned by *John Hales*'s Book, wrote in the last Parliament. Which was the cause of his being cast into Prison, and several others of the Court committed, or banished the Court. Of this *Haddon* (who was now at home) had also acquainted him, and called it *Tempestas Halisiana*, i. e. The Storm raised by *Hales*. This *Hales* was a passing good Scholar, an hearty Protestant, thorowly acquainted with the State of this Kingdom, and a great Antipapist; he had been a Courtier to King *Edward*, and an Exile under Queen *Mary*, and now under this Queen Clerk of the Hanaper: And fearing the Succession of the *Scotch* Queen, a Papist, to the Crown, if Queen *Elizabeth* should die unmarried, and childless, he by private Consultation with others, resolved to take upon him to write a Discourse to discuss the Title to this Crown after the Queen. And having in a Book confuted and rejected the Line of the *Scotch* Queen, made the Line of the Lady *Frances* that had been Married to *Grey* Duke of *Suffolk*, (who was Daughter to the Younger Sister of King *Henry* VIII.) to be only next and lawful Heir. She was Mother to the Lady *Katharine Grey*, who had been privately Married to *Edward Seimour*, Earl of *Hertford*: And were now both in the Tower for that Marriage, and under the Queen's Displeasure. In *April*,

April, *Hales* was committed to the Fleet for this bold and presumptuous Act, and afterwards to the Tower, where he continued a great while; Especially because he communicated these his Conceits to sundry Persons. The Lord *John Grey*, Uncle to the Lady *Katharine*, was in trouble about it, and so was the Lord-Keeper *Bacon*. And besides all this, *Hales* had procured Sentences and Counsels of Lawyers from beyond Seas, to be written in maintenance of the Earl of *Hertford*'s Marriage, which seemed to have been by their Consents only: For which the Marriage had been declared invalid and null by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. But hereat the Queen was much offended. In *May*, *Hales*'s Business came to be examined by the Secretary. After Examination, he was found to have procured Books in Defence of the Earl of *Hertford*'s Marriage, and likewise in Approbation of the Title of Succession for the Lady *Katharine*. Upon this Occasion thus did *Smith* the Ambassador write; "As I am a "Man, I would not have any "Man vexed, I could wish Quiet- "ness to all the Race of Man- "kind, and that whosoever "would might Philosophize free- "ly. But every Man should mind "his own Business. He declared that he for his part was for a Liberty of Philosophizing. But whereas it was urged that they Philosophized too much, he said, he thought what was done, was done more out of Curiosity than

An. 1565. Q. Eliz.

Ita homo sum, vexari nolim quemquam, quietos esse cupiem omnes mortales, & liberè Philosophari qui velint, cæteros suam quemq; rem agere.

than Malice. And whereas he ſaw ſo much Danger and Vexation, Baniſhment from Court, and Impriſonment of great Men, happening upon the Occaſion of the ſaid Book, ſome for Writing it, and ſome for Reading it, he made this Moral and wiſe Reflection, "I plainly perceive how "dangerous a thing it is to be "too forward in prying into the "ſecret Affairs of King's and "Kingdoms.

An. 1565. Q. Eliz.

Video periculoſum eſſe in Rebus arcanis Principum & Regnorum nimis valle ſapere.

CHAP. XI.

Smith *goes over Ambaſſador again to demand* Calais. *His Employment at home. Concerned in turning Iron into Copper.*

An. 1566. SMITH being come home from his Embaſſy, the Sight of his old Friends, and the Enjoyment of his native Country was a great Joy to him. *Haddon* ſtill remained Ambaſſador at *Bruges*. Who in the Kalends of *June*, *Anno* 1566. wrote to him, that he did almoſt envy him this his preſent Happineſs. "You, ſaid he, have "now recovered your Country, "your Prince, your Conſort, "your Friends, your Eaſe, and "with the reſt, the high Com-"mendation of your Embaſſy. "Whereas

Smith *now at home.*

Tu patriam, principem, conjugem, amicos, otium, & præclariſſimam legationis laudem pariter recuperaviſti. Mea ſingularis infelicitas hæc omnia mea vita ſolatia detraxit.

"Whereas it is my unhappineſs alone to be "deprived of all thoſe Comforts of my Life. *An.* 1566. *Q. Eliz.*
And no doubt *Smith* returned with the ſame Praiſe for the management of his Negotiation in *France*, as his Friends in *England* gave him, while he was in the Execution of it; as the ſame *Haddon* ſignified to him not long after his firſt going into *France*, *viz.* That the moſt intelligent Men of the Court attributed much to his Wiſdom and Moderation; but above the reſt, their common Friend *Cecil*, the Queen's Secretary: Who ever made honourable and friendly mention of him.

Sir *Thomas Smith* ſpent this Year in *England* among his Friends. He had not been above Twelve Months at home, but he was ſent again into *France*, in Quality of the Queen's Ambaſſador Extraordinary, to make a formal Demand of *Calais* from the *French*, according to a Treaty at the Caſtle of *Cambray* Eight Years before, and when the laſt Peace was made at *Triers*, *Calais* being then excepted in expreſs Words, and to be reſtored to *England* the ſecond Day of *April*, now next enſuing. Sir *Henry Norris* was at preſent the Ambaſſador in Ordinary there, who went over in *February*, 1566. Sir *Thomas* followed the next Month, *viz.* in *March*: Repairing privately to *Calais*, to be there the third Day of *April*, to demand the Town. Not as tho' they thought the Governour would deliver it, but to avoid all Cavillations, which the *French* might invent, (for by Law it was to be demanded at the very Place,) and being

An. 1567. *Sent again to demand* Calais.

An. 1567. *Q. Eliz.*

being not delivered, the ſum of 500000 *l.* was forfeited to the Queen. Mr. *Winter*, a great Sea-Officer paſt ſecretly with him to take Poſſeſſion thereof, if they deceived the Expectation of the Engliſh, and there were not paſſing three of the Council knew of *Winter*'s going.

Cecil's *Letters to Sir* Henry Norris, *Cabal.* p. 137.

Takes his Son with him.

Sir *Thomas* took his Son, Mr. *Smith*, along with him, bringing him up in all generous and gentile Accompliſhments, that he might be fit to do Service afterward to his Queen and Country. And often he ſent him over with Letters and Meſſages, as he did in the Month of *May* this Year 1567. with Letters from himſelf and Sir *Henry*, his fellow Ambaſſador, containing the Contents of this their troubleſome Negotiation.

The manner of his demanding Calais.

But to return to *Smith* his Managery of this his charge, which he did in this Formality. He demanded *Calais* firſt at the Gates of the Town next the Sea, in a loud Voice in *French*, by the ſound of a Trumpet, of which an Act was preſently made by a publick Notary; to which were Witneſſes certain outlandiſh Merchants, and others there happily preſent. And next coming to the *French* King, he demanded *Calais* again, together with Sir *Henry Norris*, the other Ambaſſador. That King remitted the matter to his Council, where *Hoſpital* his Chancellor, and our *Smith*, argued the Point largely and learnedly on both ſides, which may be read in the Hiſtory of Queen *Elizabeth*.

Cam. Eliz. p. 98. *&c.*

This

This being done, *Smith* comes over again, and was at Court about the 12th of *May*; and thus did he continue employed by the Queen in her ſervice, both at home and abroad: And for his pains he juſtly waited for ſome Preferment, as a gracious token of the Queen's acceptance of his Services. And when in the Year 1568. Sir *Ambroſe Cave*, an old Friend of his deceaſed, who had been Chancellor of the Dutchy, and one of the Queen's Privy Council, he ſolicited and laboured with *Cecil* to be admitted into his Room. He told the ſaid *Cecil*, that if any thing came, or whatſoever "came, he ſhould and muſt think that it came "by him, and promiſed that he would not be "unthankful; and that if the Queen were diſ-"poſed to beſtow this Place upon him, he ſhould "reckon himſelf not utterly abject of her Ma-"jeſty. Which Words, point to ſome Diſcontent in *Smith*'s Mind, as tho' he had taken it ſomewhat to heart, that no preferment had been conferred upon him during the ten years the Queen had Reigned. Dr. *Haddon*, the Maſter of Requeſts, wrote alſo upon this occaſion to the Secretary in *Smith*'s behalf, that he might ſucceed in his Suit. But withal, he wrote in that manner as tho' he conjectured his Suit was in effect deſperate; which he expreſt with ſome trouble, concluding that it was deſtined, "That as he (*Had-*"*don*) was to grow old among "Beggars [for his Office was "to preſent begging Requeſts and Suits to the "Queen,] ſo *Smith* to ſpend his life among "Turfs,

An. 1568. *Q. Eliz.*

Suits for the place of Chancellor of the Dutchy.

Ut inter glebas ille, Ego inter mendicos conſeneſcam.

An. 1568. *Q. Eliz.*

"Turfs, meaning the Country Life, which "he Lived in *Eſſex*. But withal he wiſhed "the Queen ſo worſe Counſellors than he. And ſo it fel out: *Smith* miſſed his Suit, and Sir *Ralph Sadleir* became Chancellor of the Dutchy.

An. 1570.

So that in the Years 1567, 1568, 1569, 1570. Sir *Tho Smith* was much in the Country, Living a retired Life. During which time, he ſerved his Country in diſtributing Juſtice, and taking care of the Peace and Quiet of the Queen's Subjects, and Execution of her Laws, in the Quality of Juſtice of Peace, in that Diviſion of *Eſſex*, eſpecially about the Part of *Ongar* and *Epping*, where he dwelt.

Sir Thomas in the Country adminiſtring Juſtice.

Witches by him examined.

Among other Cauſes that came before him, there happened certain Matters of ſuppoſed Witchcraft: Which occaſioned much Diſturbance among his Neighbours. Ariſing eſpecially from two Women, *viz.* One *Malter's* Wife of *Theyon* at *Mount*, the Pariſh where Sir *Thomas* himſelf dwelt; and the other *Anne Vicars* of *Navſtock*, not far off.

Malter's Wife.

The Examination of the former he took in *April*, 1570. Againſt whom, one Evidence depoſed, that about two Years paſt, ſhe bore her Husband in hand that he was bewitched: And as a Remedy thereof, ſhe cauſed a Trivet to be ſet, and certain pieces of Elder, and white Hazel Wood to be laid upon the Trivet, acroſs, with a Fire under it; and then him, who was at that Time not well in his Wits, to kneel down and ſay certain Prayers,

THIS CHART WILL B
APPEARING AT THE

UMI

WILL BE THE FIRST CHART
AT THE END OF THIS FILM

UMI

THIS CHART WI
SECOND CHART
AT THE END OF

UMI

ART WILL BE THE
CHART APPEARING
END OF THIS FILM

UMI

Prayers, as ſhe taught him. And thereby ſhe ſaid, he ſhould be delivered of his Bewitching, or his Witch ſhould conſume as the Fire did. Which when this Evidence rebuked her for doing, as uſing Witchcraft, ſhe conceived an ill Will towards him. And he having a Sheep-ſhearing about that Time, and not inviting her thereto, being his Neighbour, ſhe, as he ſuppoſed, bewitched two of his Sheep. For immediately after they were taken with Sickneſs, their hinder Legs ſo indiſpoſed, that they only could crawl, and died. The ſame Man had a Sow, being well when the Sun went down, which the next Morning was found dead, with her Noſe lying upon the Groundſel of this Woman's Houſe, where ſhe never was fed, nor wont to come before. *An.* 1570. *Q. Eliz.*

Another Witneſs depoſed, That ſhe being Servant to a Farmer's Wife in the ſaid Pariſh of *Theydon Mount*, this Goodwife *Malter* came to her Miſtreſs, who was going to *London* Market, and deſired her to bring her home ſome Sprats; but ſhe ſaying ſhe came always loaden from *London*, denied her. Upon this, the Deponent, then her hired Maid, came from Milking; and as ſhe ſet her Milk in the Pan upon a Loft, there was a Speckled Bird, as ſhe thought, which fluttered among the Milk-Pans, and with her Feet and Wings ſlubbered therein: Her Miſtreſs in the mean time called her away. But ſhe endeavoured by a Broom to ſweep or drive away this Bird. But it would not away, but went fluttering

An. 1570. *Q. Eliz.*

from Pan to Pan; and could not fly, but skip and hop. At the laſt, it went from the Loft where the Milk and Wheat was, into the Cheeſe Loft. And then being often called by her Miſtreſs ſhe came down, and being blamed for her long tarrying, ſhe related how ſhe was troubled with ſuch a Bird. And then her Miſtreſs came her ſelf into the Milk Loft, and found it come down Stairs a very Toad. Which after it was once come into the Buttery, ſhe could never ſee it more. And for the ſpace of ſix Weeks after by no Means, nor Diligence, nor change of Churn, nor Cloths, could they have any Butter; until that her Miſtreſs did bid her carry her Milk, and churn at a Neighbours Houſe; and there the Milk made Butter as it was wont to do before, and in the ſame Milk Pans. Other Evidences there were againſt this Woman.

'*Anne Vicars.*'

In *May*, Sir *Thomas* took the Depoſitions of ſeveral againſt *Anne Vicars*. A Woman depoſed, that about three Years paſt, ſhe was taken with a ſtrange Sickneſs: Her Body diſfigured, her Lips great, and black, and ſhe almoſt out of her Wits. She ſuſpecting that ſhe was bewitched by the ſaid *Anne*, went to one *Cobham* of *Rumford*, who was thought to be Cunning in ſuch Matters. And he declared to her that ſhe was bewitched by the ſame Woman, telling her the Words which paſt betwixt *Anne Vicars* and her, whereby ſhe conceived diſpleaſure againſt her, and wrought her that Miſchief. And *Cobham* promiſed her, that as long as he lived, ſhe ſhould have

have no Power over her. And ſo it happened: For during his Life, ſhe was recovered and continued well. But ſhortly after his Death ſhe fell again into her Diſeaſe. *An.* 1579. *Q. Eliz.*

Another Woman of *Stapleford Abbots* ſaid, That about three Years paſt, ſhe was coming from *Rumford* Market with this *Anne Vicars*: And ſuddenly the ſaid *Anne* caſt up her Noſe into the Air and ſmelt: Which the other marvelled at, and asked her if ſhe ſaw any thing, or if there were any Carrion there. And ſhe ſaid, ſhe ſmelt either a Whore or a Thief. At laſt ſhe eſpied the Wife of one *Ingarſole*, going a great way before them. Whereat the ſaid *Vicars* cried out with an Oath, I told you, I ſmelt either a Whore or a Thief; and making great haſte to overtake her, when ſhe came at her, ſhe caſt her Apron upon the ſide of her Face next unto her: And then went backwards a great way with her Face towards the ſaid *Ingarſole*'s Wife, caſting her Apron over it; and making many Croſſes, ſaying as it were certain Prayers, but what, this Examinant could not tell; but marvelled much at her Behaviour; and ſaid ſhe was to blame to ſlander her that was an honeſt Woman, and ſo known among her Neighbours for twenty Years. But upon this, *Ingarſole*'s Wife fell extreamly Sick, and loſt one of her Eyes with a ſtroke as ſhe thought that came unto her, ſhe could not tell how, in the plain Field, where neither was Buſh nor Tree, or other Creature.

An. 1570. *Q. Eliz.*

And the ſaid *Mawd*, *Ingarſole*'s Wife, examined, ſaid, that the ſaid *Anne Vicars* Daughter, about the Time that this Calamity befel her, did fell Wood that was aſſigned in the Common to her the ſaid *Mawd*. Whereupon ſhe forbad her to do ſo any more, or elſe ſhe would take away her Bill. The next Day the ſaid Wench came again: But ſhe would not ſuffer her to carry away the Wood. Whereupon the ſaid *Anne Vicars* fell out with her, and wiſht ſhe might not be delivered of that ſhe went with, being then great with Child. This Falling out was on the *Monday*, and on the *Thurſday* ſhe loſt one of her Eyes with a ſudden ſtroke as ſhe thought, where no Creature nor thing was by to hurt her: Beſides, that ſhe was extream Sick, and in great danger of her Life.

Alſo one *Agnes*, Wife of *Thomas Combres*, being examined, ſaid, That ſince *Michaelmas* laſt, the ſaid ſuppoſed Witch fell out with her, and upon that ſhe fell a Curſing and Banning at her, and wiſht her Eyes out. Whereupon within two Days ſhe fell down as Dead, extreamly Sick, and hardly recovered it. And ſince that Time ſhe had marvellous Pain in her Eyes. Theſe and divers more Depoſitions Sir *Thomas* now took againſt this Woman, of her ſuppoſed Witchcraft, exerciſed upon her Neighbours. But we have ſaid enough of this. What Proſecutions were made of theſe Women, whom he ſeemed to have Committed to Jail, this is not a Place to enquire into.

Sir

Sir *Thomas* was in the Month of *March* talked of to aſſiſt *Cecil*, (then newly made Baron of *Burghley*) in the Office of Secretary: And ſo to ſucceed in that Room, as ſoon as the other ſhould be made Lord Privy Seal, which was expected. But neither was he made Privy Seal, nor was *Smith* as yet admitted to that Office. However he was now admitted into the Council.

An. 1570. Q. *Eliz.*

Sir Thomas *admitted into the Council.*

Sir *Thomas* now divided his Time between the Country and the Court, but chiefly in the Former; delighted with the Diverſifements and eaſie Cares of his beloved Seat in *Eſſex*. But he was not idle. For he had a buſy active Mind, and a Philoſophical Head. And this put him among other Things, upon a Project of Alchimy about the Year 1571. Hoping to tranſmute Iron into Copper. Into this Chargeable, but, as was hoped, gainful Buſineſs he brought the Secretary *Cecil*, who had alſo a Philoſophical Genius, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, Sir *Humfrey Gilbert* and others. The firſt Occaſion of this Buſineſs was by one *Medley*, who had by Vitriol changed Iron into true Copper at Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Houſe at *London*, and after at his Houſe in *Eſſex*. But this was too coſtly, as Sir *Thomas* ſaw, to make a Benefit by. Therefore he propounded to find out here in *England* the *Primum Ens Vitrioli*, and therewith to do the ſame Work at a cheaper Rate. Upon which, Sir *Thomas*, Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, (a Learned Kt. alſo, and of a projecting Head) and our *Medley* entred into a Company under Articles,

An. 1571.

Labours about tranſmuting Iron into Copper.

to find this out. That is to ſay, That *Med-*
An. 1571. Q. Eliz. *ley* ſhould be employed in this Buſineſs at the Charge of the two other, till by the Profit he ſhould reap from the thing found out he might bear his Proportion. The Place where this was to be attempted and laboured was in the Iſle of *Wight*, or at *Poole*, or elſewhere. But at *Winchelſey*, he had made the firſt Tryal, becauſe of the Plenty and readineſs of Wood. He received of Sir *Thomas*, and Sir *Humphrey* an Hundred and One Pounds apiece, for the buying of Veſſels and Neceſſaries. They removed to *Poole*, thinking this *Ens* of *Vitriol* to be there, and took a Leaſe of Land of the Lady *Mountjoy*, of 300 *l. per Annum.* For the Payment of which, Sir *Thomas* with the other two entred into a Bond of 1000 *l.*

His Progreſs therein.

While theſe Things were in this State, *Smith* was ſent Ambaſſador beyond Sea: Which was in 1572. as we ſhall ſee in due place. And a Quarrel then happening between *Medley* and Sir *Humphrey*, (and *Medley* gone to *Ireland*, being reported to be run away) the Buſineſs lay aſleep for ſome time. But Sir *Thomas* revived it at his Return: Going down himſelf to *Poole*, where he found Arrears of Rent due to the Lady *Mountjoy*, and above 60 *l.* due to Workmen; and no Copper nor any *Crocus* of Copper made. The ſatisfying of which Debts, and other Charges coſt him 200 *l.* And after for clearing of things at *Poole*, ſending down at ſeveral times his Nephews *William Smith*, and *John Wood* thither.

And moveover, *Smith* had perſwaded the Lord

Lord Treaſurer and the Earl of *Leiceſter* to enter into the Society, (This was now about *December*, *Anno* 1574.) leaving them to ſatisfie themſelves by ſending ſome able or knowing Perſon to *Medley*, to ſee his Method and Ability; and ſo accordingly to report it to them. And if they were ſatisfied he could do it, then to conſider of the Terms *Medley* had propounded, and, if they thought good, to yield unto them. In fine, theſe Lords were willing to come into the Society, and they depoſited each of them an 100 *l.* towards the carrying it on. And it was to be ratified by a Patent to be obtained from the Queen. *Medley* was now removed to *Angleſey*, where was Fuel, Earth and Water proper for his Buſineſs, being ſufficient to do it for ever, or at the leaſt for a very long Time.

An. 1571. *Q. Eliz.*

Some Lords come into the Project.

The Projectors formed into a Society.

The Things which he undertook to do were theſe: I. To make of raw Iron good Copper, and of the ſame Weight and Proportion, abating one Part in Six. As Six hundred Tun of Iron ſhould by Boyling, make Five hundred Tun of perfect Copper. II. The Liquor wherein the Iron was boyled, to make Coperas and Allom ready for the Merchant. Which, keeping the Price they then bore, ſhould of the Liquor of Five hundred Tun of Copper be worth 10000 *l.* that is, for every Tun 2000 *l.* Sir *Thomas* was ſatisfied that true Copper was made of Iron; but whether all the other incident Expences, which would be conſiderable, would countervail, that was the Matter to be examined.

An. 1571. *Q. Eliz.* The Society had ſeen the Tryal of *Crocus*, at *London*; which might be ſatisfaction in part. *Smith*, for his own part made no doubt, that Copper might be made that way, and two or three other ways alſo, as he told the Lords: But of the whole Work which reſted in many other Points, as of the Proportion of Iron to the *Crocus*, of the *Crocus* to the Copper, of the Allom and Coperas that came of it; with what time of Boyling; what Expences of Fire and Men's Labour, Carriage, Buildings, Veſſels, and all other things which be many, this he ſaid could not be done, nor well eſteemed nor judged upon at *London*, but at the Place. Whereupon he propounded to the two Lords to ſend down two Perſons, and he and Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, one or two others, whom they might truſt. Theſe together to view and ſee the Doings, and one be Witneſs to the other; and ſo all Parties to be fully ſatisfied by the Anſwer of theſe Viewers to every Part of their Inſtructions and Articles, what they ſhould find true according to *Medley*'s Promiſe, and what not, and the Occaſion thereof. That ſo the Society might be broken, if it were Deceit and Abuſe, or gone forward with, if it were not ſo.

The Patent for it Signed. At length, there ariſing ſo much Probability of Succeſs in the Project, he got the Patent of the Society Signed in *January* 1574. And therein it was Stiled, *The Society of the new Art.* And the two Lords put into the Stock an 100 *l.* a piece more. Now when the Patent was ſigned, and the Great Seal obtained

tained, their next Work was to forward the Buſineſs with all ſpeed, that they might lie no longer at great Expence. *Smith* excited the Lord *Burghley*, that they might proceed to a perfect Beginning of the Work in the manner of a Society. The Earl of *Leiceſter* was very forward, offering Iron, and Lead, and Money alſo, and making more Veſſels. *Smith* alſo put on the Lord *Burghley* to make Orders when and how it ſhould begin; and that one Man or two ſhould be fixed upon, as chief Overſeers to take Care and Charge of the Works; who ſhould be anſwerable to the whole Society: Making clear Books for one Day prefixed, what the Daily, Ordinary and Extraordinary Expences be, and what the Comings in again Weekly of Copper, Allom, Coperas, and other Things be and were like to be. Then what common Seal for the whole Society. And that *Burghley* alſo would out of other Statutes for other Societies, cull out ſome good and wholſome Statutes and Orders for this: Which without a Society, he ſaid, could not well ſtand: And the fewer Statutes, and well kept, the better. And laſtly, he deſired that all might be ready, ſo as by the 10th or 15th of *February*, the Work might be fully begun: That ſo by the laſt of *March*, a ſure Gueſs might be made, what were like to enſue thereof. One Sir *John Hibbord*, was the Man agreed upon to have the chief Charge of the Proviſions for all things neceſſary for the Work, and for Diſburſing Money by Accounts. And to him the

An. 1573. *Q. Eliz.*

An. 1571. Q. Eliz.

the Earl of *Leiceſter* had given order for Iron, Cask and Lead. And one *Cole* was appointed by Sir *Thomas*, to be over the Works, to be the chief Doer and Worker of the Melting, and not to go from the Work. There was alſo a Clerk to keep the Reckoning, to ſee what the Labourers did daily, and Weekly what was melted and made in Coperas and Allom.

The Buſineſs finds Delays.

But notwithſtanding all *Smith*'s haſtening, the Matter ſuffered Delay, and was retarded by *Medley* the chief Undertaker, who loitered in *London* till the 7th of *March*, making Excuſes, of wanting Money to defray his Charges here, that he did not perceive that the reſt were all agreed, that he thought himſelf hardly dealt withal, if he ſhould not be allowed for the Charges in making Experiments now this two Years and more, and for his Buildings and Veſſels, the ſum of 400*l.* But in reply to him, *Smith* urged, that for two Years paſt, *Medley* and *Topcliff* (who was his Partner) had made *Crocus*; of which they might have made Benefit for the Re-emburſing of themſelves. They ſaid, they ſent it away for Eſſays, and part of it was purloined. *Smith* ſaid again, that he might, as well as they, claim to have his Allowance, he and Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* being out of Purſe 400 *l.* in making Tryals, paid into the Hands of *Medley*, and to the Lord *Mountjoy*. And he reſented theſe Prolongations to my Lord *Burghley* in this manner, That *Medley*'s Skill began by this Time to be known, which made

made him jealous that his Delays would wholly ſpoil their Buſineſs: That Sir *John Perot* had a whole Diſcourſe of the compleat manner of the Work in Writing: That the Lord *Mountjoy* had gotten one of *Medley*'s chief Workmen to him: That divers in the Countries knew the Earths and the Working of them. And yet, ſaid he diſcontentedly, we do nothing, and wiſhed that he might go down himſelf. For which he was very earneſt, undertaking within fourteen Days to bring Things to a full certainty, as to the underſtanding what Truth or Likelihood there was in the Matter: Aſſuring his Lordſhip, that he was not ſatisfied, until they were certified from thence by Order and by Accounts: That they might compare the Time, the Charge, and the Labour with the Gains that came of it, and in what kind it was and ſhould ariſe. And that the ill Succeſs, which it ſeems they met with at *Poole*, and at the Lady *Mountjoy*'s Works, taught to truſt little to Words and Promiſes, nor to Experiments made afar off, nor to the Accounts of Men of that Faculty [*i. e.* Alchymiſts.] *Fain they would be fingering of* Money, ſaid he; *But when it is once in their Hands, we muſt ſeek it in the Aſhes.* An. 1572. Q. Eliz.

I find no more of this; but I make no doubt Sir *Thomas* ſmarted in his Purſe for his Chymical Covetouſneſs, and *Gilbert* ſeems to have been impoveriſhed by it. And *Medley* was beggered. For I find him in the Counter two Years after, *viz.* in the Year 1576. made a Pri- *The Chymiſt a Beggar.*

An. 1571. *Q. Eliz.*

a Priſoner there by *Courtis*, and ſome others, who were Commiſſioners from the Lord *Burghley*, Lord Treaſurer, for Debt I make no Queſtion. Tho' the Lady *Mary Sydney*, Wife to Sir *Henry Sydney*, was concerned for him, having it is probable ſome Opinion of his Skill in Chymiſtry, and wrote to the ſaid Lord in his favour, and againſt thoſe that proſecuted him. But he gave her his grave and wiſe Counſel with reſpect unto him, knowing better than ſhe, what kind of Man he was.

Thus did this Matter detain Sir *Thomas Smith* three or four Years to his no little Care and Coſt too.

CHAP. XII.

Smith *waits upon the Queen at* Audley-End. *Goes on Embaſſy to* France. *Concludes a League. Concerned in Propoſals of a Match for the Queen.*

Smith *examineth the Duke of* Norfolk's *Secretary.*

THE Queen was at *Audley-End* in *Auguſt* this Year. Here Sir *Thomas Smith* now was: Perhaps repairing thither to Congratulate her Majeſty's Coming ſo near *Walden* his native Town, or to wait upon her for ſome Favour for that Place, or otherwiſe. At that Juncture, a good Portion of Gold was inter-

intercepted, going into *Scotland* to the Lord *Herris*, for the help of the *Scotch* Queen's Party, together with a Letter in Cypher, sent by *Higford*, the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Secretary. By which it was concluded, the Duke was again medling in the Matter of Matching with her; for which he had a Reprimand ſome time before this, and promiſed the Queen to concern himſelf no more in that Affair. *Higford* was upon this taken up, and Committed to the Tower in *London*. And Sir *Thomas* was ſent thither on the 1ſt of *September*, to take his Examination. Who confeſt to him, That the Duke commanded him to write to one *Lawrence Baniſter*, the Duke's Man, that he ſhould ſee ſecretly conveyed 600 *l.* to the ſaid Lord *Herris*, to be by him conveyed to *Liddington* and *Graunge*. Whereupon the Duke was put into the Tower. And *Smith* was one of thoſe, that by the Queen's Appointment attended him thither. *An.* 1571. *Q. Eliz.*

Another Embaſſy now fell upon *Smith*. Mr. *Francis Walſingham*, the preſent Ambaſſador in *France*, growing very indiſpoſed in his Health, deſired to be releaſed of his Employment. Whereupon, tho' *Henry Killigrew*, Eſq; was ſent Ambaſſador in *October* thither, in *November* the Lord *Grey*, or Sir *Peter Grey*, were intended to go and aſſiſt *Walſingham*. But in *December*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, who was now one of the Privy Council, was the Man pitched upon. His Buſineſs was to Treat of Entrance into a ſtrait League of Amity with that King; and withal, in caſe that Court renewed *Goes Ambaſſador again to* France.

renewed the Motion for Marriage with the Duke of *Alanſon* (which was in Tranſaction the Summer paſt, but received ſome Interruption) he was to Treat thereof.

An. 1571. Q. Eliz.

To make a firm Amity againſt Spain.

For however averſe or negligent the Queen ſeemed to be in it before, yet now her Courtiers ſo earneſtly calling upon her for her own Surety, and that of her State, which would be much advanced through the hope of her Iſſue, ſhe ſhewed ſo good Diſpoſition thereto, that the Earl of *Leiceſter* wrote to Sir *Thomas*, that ſhe ſo earneſtly and aſſuredly affirmed to him the ſame good Diſpoſition, that he verily thought, that yet once again with good Handling, a good Concluſion would follow. *Smith* received his Diſpatch about the 6th of *December*. He plyed the Buſineſs he was ſent for diligently. For it was thought very neceſſary to join in a good League with *France*, to check the Greatneſs of *Spain*, and to be the better ſecured againſt his Threatnings.

An Article debated by Smith.

In this Treaty, it is worth taking notice of one Article in Debate: Which was that the two Princes ſhould mutually aſſiſt each other. And if the Queen were invaded for the Cauſe of Religion, that the *French* King ſhould yield her his Aſſiſtance. This Article, when almoſt all the reſt were well accorded, that King declined to have put into the Treaty, tho' he promiſed to perform it moſt faithfully. And tho' it were not expreſly mentioned in the League, yet ſuch general Words ſhould be uſed, that the Matter of Religion

ligion ſhould be contained therein. To which *Smith* replied, "That that could not be; and "that no general Words could contain it, if "the Party that was bound would ſay, that "it was againſt his Conſcience, or he meant "it not. To which the King ſaid, "That "he would write to the Queen his Siſter with "his own Hand what he meant as to that; "and that he would as well defend her even "in that Cauſe, as if it were expreſt in Words: "and that which he ſaid he would keep, "tho' he dyed for it. But this King was a great Diſſembler, which our Ambaſſador probably knew well enough, but gave him this diſcreet Anſwer; "That for him, he thought "no leſs, and he was ſure the Queen his Mi-"ſtreſs took him to be a faithful Prince, and "conſtant to his Words as any was Living. "But when they ſpake of Treaties, they "were not made in Words, nor in ſuch Let-"ters miſſive, but after another Authentical "ſort Sworn and Sealed. Without which, "he could not, he ſaid, for his part take it "ſubſtantially and orderly done. And be-"ſides, that the Treaty was not Perſonal but "Perpetual, for him and his Succeſſors.

An. 1571. *Q. Eliz.*

His Argument with the French *Queen.*

And when the Queen-Mother would have ſhuffled off this and ſome other Articles, ſaying, "That when *Mareſhal Montmorancy* ſhould "be ſent over into *England* from the *French* "King to the Queen, and the Earl of *Leice-"ſter* ſhould come to that Court from the ſaid "Queen, to ſee the League ſworn by each "Prince, then all things ſhould be done as "the

"the Queen ſhould deſire: *Smith* anſwered,
An. 1571. "That he knew the Faſhion of Leagues.
Q. Eliz. "And that it muſt be agreed upon between
"the Commiſſioners, that no Words be al-
"tered, then Subſcribed with the Hands of
"both the Parties; the *French* Commiſſioners
"delivering the Part Signed with their Hands
"to thoſe of *England*, and the Commiſſioners
"of *England* next to them. Then the Prince
"cauſeth it to be made under the Great Seal
"of the Realm, and ſo to be delivered to
"each others Ambaſſador. And that he that
"came to ſee it Sworn to, might make a
"new League, if the Princes would; but to
"alter that that was made, he could not.
"For the Princes were bound to Ratify and
"Swear to that, on which the Commiſſioners
"were agreed. And that it were not Wiſdom,
"as he added, to ſend ſuch Perſonages as they
"ſpake of to an uncertain League: And he
"might conſider that Queen *Elizabeth* his Mi-
"ſtreſs would not do it. This Conference
happened *March* the 1ſt, 1571.

Smith perſwades the Queen. She conſents to the League.

After much Pains, this Article and another about the *Scotch* Queen was agreed; and Queen *Elizabeth* was only to give her conſent to finiſh this happy and advantageous League. And to excite the Queen hereunto, Sir *Thomas*, with *Walſingham*, did freely give her advice to this Tenor, "That it was for
"the Aſſurance of her Perſon and Crown,
"as ſhe was a Prince lawful and natural, and
"had a Crown Imperial. And that ſhe did
"it ſo by her Laws, as God's Laws and Hers
"willed

"willed it to be done. That foreign Princes "that were her Friends, would and muſt take "it well; and that ſuch as were not, would "rather laugh at her, and be glad of it, if "ſhe did it not; and, when they ſhould ſee "Time, take occaſion to endanger her Ma-"jeſty thereby. The Queen ſoon after ſig-nified her Conſent. And ſo in the Month of *April* enſuing, at *Blois* the League was concluded, and ſigned the 18th or 19th Day. Which, according as *Smith* and his Collegue did conceive, ſhould be with as great Aſſu-rance and Defence of the Queen as ever was or could be; the two Realms being ſo near and ready to defend her, if it were required. And in caſe *Spain* ſhould threaten, or ſhew ill Offices, as it had of late done againſt the Queen's Safety; it would be afraid hereafter ſo to do, ſeeing ſuch a Wall adjoyned, as *Smith* wrote. Which he therefore hoped would be the beſt League that ever was made with *France*, or any other Nation for her Ma-jeſty's Surety. His good Conceit he had of this League, did further appear by what he wrote in another Letter ſoon after to the Lord *Burghley*, "That now it could not be "ſaid, That her Majeſty was altogether a-"lone, having ſo good a Defence of ſo No-"ble, Couragious, and ſo faithful a Prince of "*his Word*, (but herein our Ambaſſador was miſtaken in his Man, none being ſo *falſe of* his Word, and treacherous as he, all covered over with moſt artificial Diſſimulation) "and "ſo near a Neighbour, provided for, and be-

An. 1571. *Q.* Eliz.

"ſpoken beforehand againſt any need. Partly that, and partly the Trouble in *Flanders* "(which he truſted God had provided to deliver his poor Servants there from the Antichriſtian Tyranny) ſhould make her Highneſs enjoy more quietly both *England* and "*Ireland*, and a better Neighbour of *Scotland*.

An. 1571. Q. Eliz.

He loved not many Words.

When *Monſieur De Foix* came to him and his Collegue, with the Draught of the whole League in *French*, which before was in *Latin*, and the Matters that paſt *Pro* and *Con*, (which he ſaid was, that the King might underſtand it) and had made a new Preface, *Smith* did not much ſtick at it. And acquainting the Secretary *Cecil*, (now Lord *Burghley*) with it, he opened to him the Reaſon of it. "I am "old, ſaid he, I love not much Talk, and "would fain be diſpatched honeſtly homeward. So the Effect be there indeed, and "our Queen not deceived, I care for no more, "that done." *Smith* loved to do his Buſineſs well and ſoundly, and yet to knit it up with Brevity and Expedition. Thus again, when the *French* Deputy urged much in this Treaty the *Scotch* Queen, that ſhe might be ſent ſafe home to her Country; a thing which the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors had order not to deal in, by no means; he began to amplify upon that in a long Oration. But at the Concluſion, *Smith* told him in ſhort, "For all your "Reaſon you muſt pardon me. I know you "are a good Rhetorician, and you have Rhetorical Ornaments at will to make; and ſo "have

"have I on the contrary ſide, if I would be-
"ſtow my Time in that ſort. We are the
"Queen's Majeſty's Servants, and we have
"ſhewed our Reaſons ſo good, that no Man
"could deny that we ſhould not agree unto
"it.

An. 1571. *Q. Eliz.*

While *Smith* was in this Country, he was forced to follow the Court from Place to Place; but it being Winter pinched him ſore. At *Thoulouſe* it almoſt coſt him his Life, and had made an End of him had it not been for Strong Waters, which he uſed for his Stomach Morning and Evening. At *Blois*, where he remained after *Candlemas*, he endured the greateſt Cold that ever he felt, and moſt continual. And notwithſtanding the Cordial Waters he uſed, he was ſcarce able to reſiſt the extream Cold of the Weather, there being for thirty Days together continual Froſt and Snow. Neither was there Wood plenty, nor good Chimneys for Fire. And in his Bed-chamber he could make no Fire at all.

His Hardſhip in France.

In this Embaſſy, the League being concluded, the Queen-Mother, one Day in *March* (*Anno exeunte*) in the King's Garden at *Blois*, brake her Deſire of a Marriage between Queen *Elizabeth* and her ſecond Son the Duke *D'Alenſon*; asking *Smith* the Ambaſſador, whether he knew how the Queen would fancy the Marriage with her ſaid Son. "Madam, ſaid he, you know of old, except I "have a ſure ground, I dare affirm nothing "to your Majeſty. When ſhe ſaid again,

Communication between the Queen-Mother and Smith, concerning the Queen's Marriage.

An. 1571. *Q. Eliz.*

"That if the Queen were diſpoſed to Marry, "ſhe ſaw not where ſhe might Marry ſo "well: That as for thoſe ſhe had heard named, "as the Emperor's Son, or *Don John* of *Au-* "*ſtria*, they were both leſs than her Son, and "of leſs Stature by a good deal: And if ſhe "would Marry, it were pity any more Time "were loſt. *Smith* liking well enough the Motion, replied to this, "That if it pleaſed "God, that the Queen were Married, and "had a Child, all theſe Brags, and all theſe "Treaſons, (he meant of the Queen of *Scots*, "and her Party) would ſoon be appalled. "And on condition ſhe had a Child by *Mon-* "*ſieur D'Alenſon*, for his part he cared not, "if they had the Queen of *Scots* in *France* [which was an Article propounded by the *French* King in the fore-mentioned Treaty, but by no means allowed by the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors.] "For then he ſaid, they would "be as careful and as jealous over her for "the Queen of *England*'s Surety as the Queen's "Subjects, or ſhe her ſelf was. The Queen- "Mother then ſubjoined, That it was true; "and without this Marriage, if ſhe ſhould "Marry in another Place, ſhe could not ſee "how this League and Amity could be ſo "ſtrong as it was. Our Ambaſſador anſwer- ed, "It was true; the Knot of Blood and "Marriage was a ſtronger Seal than that which "was printed in Wax, and laſted longer, if "God gave good Succeſs. But yet all Leagues "had not Marriage joined with them, as this "might, if it pleaſed God. To which ſhe joined

joined her Wiſh, and added, "That if it "ſhould ſo happen, ſhe would her ſelf make "a Start over and ſee the Queen; the which "of all things ſhe moſt deſired. To which again the Ambaſſador ſaid, "That if he had "at that preſent as ample Commiſſion, as he "had at the firſt for *Monſieur* [*D'Anjou*,] the "Matter ſhould ſoon by God's Grace be at "an End. The Queen wiſht he had: And asked him, "If he ſhould have ſuch an one "when he went into *England*, whether he "would not come again to execute it. Yes, "Madam, ſaid he, moſt gladly, on ſo good "an Intent I would paſs again the Seas, tho' "I were never ſo Sick for it. *An.* 1578. *Q. Eliz.*

Another Day, in the ſame Month of *March*, the Queen-Mother met *Smith* the Ambaſſador in the ſame Garden, and having Diſcourſe concerning other Matters, as of the Queen of *England*'s danger from the Queen of *Scots*, who now applied her ſelf to *Spain*, ſhe thus brought in the Talk again of Marriage: Asking him whether his Miſtreſs did not ſee, that ſhe ſhould be always in danger until ſhe Married. And that once done, and that in ſome good Houſe, who dared attempt any thing againſt her? "Then, ſaid he, he thought if "ſhe were once Married, all in *England*, that "had any Traiterous Hearts would be diſcou-"raged. For one Tree alone (as he ingeni-"ouſly explained the Matter) may ſoon be "cut down, but when there be two or three "together, it is longer a doing. And one "ſhall watch for the other. But if ſhe had a *Further Diſcourſe on the ſame Argument.*

An. 1571. Q. Eliz.

"Child, then all these bold and troublesome "Titles of the *Scotch* Queen or others, that "make such Gaping for her Death, would "be clean choaked up. The Queen cryed "merrily, she saw she might have Five or Six "very well. Would to God, said the Am-"bassador, she had one. No, said she, still "merrily, two Boys, lest the one should die, "and three or four Daughters to make Alli-"ance with us again, and other Princes, to "strengthen the Realm. Why then, said "*Smith*, as jocularly, you think that *Monsieur* "*Le Duc* shall speed. With that she laughed, "and said, she desired it infinitely. And then she "would trust to see three or four at the least "of her Race, which would make her indeed "not to spare Sea and Land to see her Majesty "and them. And if she could have fansied "my Son *D'Anjou*, said she, as you told me, "why not this of the same House, Father "and Mother, and as vigorous and lusty as "he, or rather more; and now he beginneth "to have a Beard come forth. And as to his "Stature, she told the Ambassador, that the "said Duke her Son was as tall as himself, "or very near. For that Matter, said he a-"gain, that for his part he made little ac-"count, if the Queen's Majesty could fansy "him. Adding this Story, That *Pipin the* "*Short*, Married *Bertha*, the King of *Almain's* "Daughter, who was so little to her, that "he was standing in *Aix*, in a Church there, "she taking him by the Hand, and his Head "not reaching to her Girdle. And yet he

"had

"had by her *Charlemain*, the great Emperor "and King of *France*, who was reported to "be almoſt a Gyant in Stature. To which "the Ambaſſador added, the mention of O- "*liver Gleſquin*, the *Britain* Conſtable, which "the *French* made ſo much of, and lay bu- "ried among the Kings at St. *Denys*, if he "were no bigger than he was there pourtray- "ed upon his Tomb, was very ſhort, ſcarce "four Foot long. But yet he was valiant, "hardy and courageous above all in his Time, "and did the *Engliſh* Men moſt hurt. Thus "ingeniouſly did *Smith* hold the Conference "with the Queen-Mother. *An.* 1571. *Q. Eliz.*

His Thoughts of the Queen's Marrying.

But as to his Opinion of the Queen's Marriage, wherein he perceived ſhe was but backward, (and a Marriage he and the beſt Statesmen in thoſe Times reckon'd the only Means for the Peace and Safety of the Queen and Kingdom, againſt the Diſturbances and Pretences of the Scotch Queen, and her Friends) the Ambaſſador was full of ſad and uneaſy Thoughts: For ſo at this time he opened his Mind to the Lord *Burghley*, "That all the "World did ſee, that they wiſhed her Ma- "jeſty's Surety, and long Continuance, and "that Marriage, and the Iſſue of her High- "neſs's Body, ſhould be the moſt Aſſurance "of her Highneſs, and of the Wealth of the "Realm. The Place, and the Perſon for his "part he remitted to her Majeſty. But what "ſhe meant to maintain ſtill her Danger, and "not to provide for her Surety, he aſſured "his Lordſhip he could ſee no reaſon. And

An. 1571. Q. Eliz.

"so prayed God to preserve Her long to "Reign by some unlookt for Miracle: For "he could not see by natural Reason, that "she went about to provide for it. And soon after, when *Smith* had sent Messages two or three for the Resolution of the *English* Court about the Marriage, which the *French* were so earnest for, and in great hopes of, and no Answer came, "He lamented to the "aforesaid Lord, that he, and his Collegue "*Walsingham*, could say nothing of it, when "they were asked. And that they were "sorry in their Hearts to see such uncertain, "so negligent, and irresolute Provision for "the safety of the Queen's Person, and of her "Reign; Praying God Almighty, of his Al-"mighty and Miraculous Power to preserve "her long to Reign over her People; and "that his Grace and Mercy would turn all "to the best.

His Concern for the Queen's Sickness.

In the midst of these Cares of our Ambassador, the Lord *Burgbley* wrote to him of a Matter that put him and his Collegue into a great Consternation. It was concerning the Queen's falling Sick of the Small-Pox, and withal of her speedy Recovery again. His careful Mind for this Matter he thus express in his next Letter to the said Lord: "That "he and his Fellow read the News of the "Queen's Illness together in a marvellous "Agony, but having his Medicine ready "(which was, that her Majesty was within "an Hour recovered) it did in part heal them "again. But that, as his Lordship wrote of "himself,

"himself, that the Care did not cease in him, "so he might be assured it did as little cease "in them: Calling to their remembrance, "and laying before their Eyes the Trouble, "the Uncertainty, the Disorder, the Peril and "Danger, that had been like to follow, if at "that Time God had taken her from them; "whom he styled *The Stay of the Common-* "*wealth, the Hope of their Repose, and that* "*Lanthorn of their Light next God*: Not know- "ing whom to follow, nor certainly where to "light another Candle. *Ann. 1571. Q. Eliz.*

Another great Solicitude of his at this Time was, as the Queen's Sickness, so her slowness to resolve, and the tedious Irresolutions at Court. Of which he spake in some Passion after this sort: "That if the Queen "did still continue in Extremities to promise, "in Recoveries to forget, what shall we say "but as the *Italians* do, *Passato il pericolo, gab-* "*bato il fango.* He told that Lord moreover, "That he should perceive by their Proceed- "ings in their Embassy, what justly might be "required was easie to be done. But if her "Majesty deceived her self, and with Irreso- "lution made all Princes understand, that "there was no Certainty of her or her Coun- "cil, but dalliance and farding off of Time, she "should then first Discredit her Ministers, "which was not much, but next and by them "discredit her self; that is, to be counted "uncertain, irresolute, unconstant, and for "no Prince to trust unto, but as to a Courtier, "who had Words at will, and true Deeds "none. *And the Irresolutions of the Court.*

An. 1571. *Q. Eliz.*

"none. These were Expressions proceeding somewhat, as may be perceived, from his Spleen, and partly from his present Indisposition of Body. Which he seemed to be sensible of. For he begged his Lordship's Pardon for what he had said, rendring his Reason, "That he had been kept there so long, "that he was then in an Ague both in Body "and in Spirit. And that as the Humours "in his Body made an Ague there (of which "he wisht it would make an end) so that Irresolution at the Court he hoped would "help to conclude; that he might feel no "more Miseries: Which he feared those that "came after should feel: *Because we will not see*, said he, *the Time of our Visitation*.. Thus did *Smith* express his Discontents into the Bosom of his trusty Friend, for the Mismanagement of publick Affairs, as he conceived, discovering as his Zeal and Affection to the Queen and the State; so the Temper of his Mind, somewhat enclined to Heat and Choler. This he writ from *Blois* on *Good-Friday*.

The Queen of Navarre sends to Sir Thomas.

While Sir *Thomas Smith* was here Ambassador, the Treaty of Marriage was in effect concluded between the Prince of *Navarre*, and the Lady *Margaret*, the present *French* King's Sister. Which lookt then very well toward the Cause of Religion, and both that Ambassador and his Collegues, *Walsingham* and *Killigrew*, liked it well. One Matter in Debate, and the chief, was about the manner of Solemnizing the Marriage. Whereupon they sent

ſent to the Queen of *Navarre* a true Copy of the Treaty of the Marriage between King *Edward* the Sixth, and the late Queen of *Spain*, the *French* King's Siſter. Wherein it was agreed, that ſhe ſhould be Married according to the Form of the Church of *England*. Which ſtood the ſaid Queen of *Navarre* in ſuch good ſtead, that ſhe produced it to the Queen-Mother of *France*. To which they took Exceptions, and ſaid it was no true Copy of the Treaty. Whereupon ſhe, the Queen of *Navarre*, ſent to Sir *Tho. Smith*, who happened to be at that very Treaty. By her Meſſenger ſhe ſignified that ſhe ſent to him to know, (becauſe he was a Dealer in the ſame) whether he would not juſtifie it to be a true Copy. To whom Sir *Thomas* anſwered, "That knowing the great good Will "his Miſtreſs did bear her, and how much "ſhe deſired the good Succeſs of that Mar-"riage, as a thing that tended to the Advance-"ment of Religion and Repoſe of this Realm, "he could not but in Duty avow the ſame, "and be willing to do any good Office that "might advance the ſaid Marriage." *An.* 1571. *Q. Eliz.*

CHAP.

An. 1572. *Q. Eliz.*

CHAP. XIII.

Made Chancellor of the Garter. Comes home. Becomes Secretary of State; His Advice for forwarding the Queen's Match. His Aſtoniſhment upon the Paris *Maſſacre.*

The Queen gives him the Chancellorſhip of the Order.

SIR *Thomas* being ſtill abroad in *France*, the Queen conferred upon him the Chancellorſhip of the Order of the Garter in the Month of *April*, as ſome Reward of the League that he had taken ſo much pains in making. For which he thanked her Majeſty, and ſaid it muſt needs be to him many times the more welcome, becauſe that, without his Suit, and in his Abſence, her Highneſs of her gracious goodneſs did remember him.

Comes home.

About *June*, 1572. he came home with the Earl of *Lincoln*, Lord Admiral, who was ſent over to take the Oath of the *French* King for the Confirmation of the Treaty. Which being done by the Queen's Command, he was no longer to abide in *France*, but to return at his beſt Convenience.

Made Secretary.

It was not long from this Time, that the old Lord Treaſurer, Marqueſs of *Wincheſter* died; and the Lord *Burghley*, Secretary of State ſucceeded in his Place. Then *Smith* was called to the Office of Secretary, *viz.*

June

June 24. having ſometime before aſſiſted the Lord *Burghley* in that Station. *An.* 1572. Q. *Eliz.*

And ſurely it was the Opinion of his great Learning, as well as his long Experience and other Deſerts, that preferred him. For his Learning had rendred him very famous in the Court. A Poet in thoſe Times, writing an Heroick Poem to the Queen, therein deſcribing all her great Officers one after another, thus depainted this her Secretary: *Famed in the Court for his Learning.*

Inde tibi eſt altis SMYTHUS *à gravibúſq;*
Secretis,
Doctrinæ Titulis & Honoris fulgidus, ut qui
Pierius Vates, prompto facundus & ore,
Et cui ſolliciti exquiſita Peritia Juris,
Aſtronomus, Phyſicúſque, Theologus, inſuper
omni
Eximiè multifaria tam ſtructus in Arte,
Ut ſedes in eo Muſæ fixiſſe putentur.

Wherein of all the Queen's Wiſe and Noble Counſellors, *Smith* her Secretary is made to be the deeply Learned Man about her, as being an ingenious Poet, an excellent Speaker, of exquiſite Skill in the Civil Law, in Aſtronomy, in natural Philoſophy and Phyſick, in Divinity, and in a word, ſo richly furniſhed in all the Arts and Sciences, that the Muſes themſelves might be ſuppoſed to have taken up their Seat in him.

Smith's Device for a View between Mounſieur and the Queen.

And thus we ſee *Smith* re-enſtated again in that Place which four and twenty Years ago he enjoyed under King *Edward*. *Smith* now

An. 1572. Q. Eliz.

now being Secretary, and *Walſingham* Reſident in the *French* Court, and the matter of the Match for Duke *D'Alenſon* and the Queen, tranſacted earneſtly this Year, the main of this Matter went through *Smith*'s Hands. And thus it ſtood. The *French* King and Queen-Mother, and the Duke and that Court were extreamly eager for it, and ſo was the *Engliſh* Nation too; ſuppoſing it the beſt way for the Security of her Majeſty and her Crown. But the Queen her ſelf was but cold in the Matter. And when an Interview was moved between her and the Duke, ſhe refuſed to yield to it upon ſome Scruples. Whereat Secretary *Smith* to ſet it forward, that it might not be ſuſpended on ſuch a Point, deviſed that the Duke ſhould come over hither without the Ceremony of an Invitation. For as he wrote to *Walſingham* in *Auguſt*, he was ſorry ſo good a Matter ſhould upon ſo nice a Point be deferred. Adding, "That one might ſay, that the Lover would "do little, if he would not take pains once "to ſee his Love, but ſhe muſt firſt ſay Yea, "before he ſaw her, or ſhe him. Twenty "Ways, ſaid he, might be deviſed why he "might come over and be welcome, and poſ-"ſibly do more in an Hour than he might in "two Years [otherwiſe.] *Cupido ille qui vincit* "*omnia in oculos inſidet, & ex oculis ejaculatur,* "*& in oculos utriuſq; videndo, non ſolum, ut* "*ait Poeta, Fœmina virum, ſed Vir fœminam.* "What Force I pray you can Hear-ſay, and "*I think* and *I truſt* do, in compariſon of that,

"*cum*

"*cum Præſens præſentem tuetur, & alloquitur,*
"*& furore forſitan amoris ductus amplectitur.* An. 1572. Q. Eliz.
"And ſaith to himſelf, and openly, that ſhe
"may hear, *Teneine te mea, an etiamnum ſomno*
"*volunt Fœminæ videri cogi ad id quod maxi-*
"*mè cupiunt?* If we be cold, it is our Part:
"Beſides the Perſon, the Sex requires it. Why
"are you cold? Is it not a Young Man's part
"to be Bold, Couragious, and to adventure?
"If he ſhould have [a Repulſe] he ſhould
"have but *Honorificam Repulſam.* The worſt
"that can be ſaid of him is but a *Phaeton,*
"*quam ſi non tenuit, magnis tamen excidit Auſis.*
"Adding, that ſo far as he could perceive,
"this was the only Anchor, this the Dye to
"be caſt for us. Or elſe nothing was to be
lookt for, but ſtill and continual Dalliance
and Doubtfulneſs, ſo far as he could ſee.
Thus in his Royal Miſtreſſes, and the Nations
behalf, he could talk and direct like a Ma-
ſter of Love. This Device and Counſel I ſup-
poſe was hinted to the *French* Court. And
it was not long, but Duke *D'Alenſon* accord-
ingly came over, to make his Addreſs to the
Queen.

The *Pariſian* Maſſacre happening in *Auguſt*,
ſo treacherous and ſo inhumane, that all the
World ſtood amazed at it, Secretary *Smith*
abhorred, and wrote his Thoughts of it in
this following Letter to *Walſingham* then Am-
baſſador there;

His Thoughts the Maſſacre at Paris.

"Sir, this Accident in *France* ſeemeth to
"us ſo ſtrange, and beyond all Expectation,
"that we cannot tell what to ſay to it: And
"the

"the Excuſe [*tam Exilis,*] *ſo ſlender* or fraudu-
An. 1572. "lent, (namely, That the *Hugonots* had in-
Q. Eliz. "tended to have made ſome dangerous Di-
"ſturbances in the Kingdom, and therefore
"the King was forced to do this for his own
"ſafety,) that we wot not what to think of
"it. The Matter appears all manner of ways
"ſo lamentable, the King ſo ſuddenly, and
"in one Day to have diſpoiled himſelf and
"his Realm of ſo many notable Captains, ſo
"many brave Soldiers, ſo wiſe and ſo valiant
"Men, as, if they were unguilty of that
"which is laid unto them, it is moſt pitiful.
"If they were guilty, *Cur Mandati Cauſa*
"*damnati ſunt ac cæſi?* In ſuch ſudden and
"extream Dealings, *Cito ſed ſera Pœnitentia*
"*ſolet ſequi*; If it were ſudden, and not of
"long Time premeditated before. And if ſo,
"the worſe and more infamous. Thus you
"ſee what privately any Man may think of
"this Fact. I am glad yet that in theſe Tu-
"mults and bloody Proſcriptions you did
"Eſcape, and the young Gentlemen that be
"there with you; and that the King had ſo
"great Care and Pity of our Nation, ſo lately
"with ſtrait Amity Confederate with him.
"Yet we hear ſay, that he that was ſent by
"my Lord *Chamberlain*, to be School-maſter
"to young *Wharton*, being come the Day be-
"fore, was then ſlain. Alas! he was acquaint-
"ed with no body, nor could be partaker of
"any evil Dealing. How fearful and careful
"the Mothers and Parents be here of ſuch
"young Gentlemen as be there, you may
"eaſily

" easily gueſs by my Lady *Lane*, who prayeth " very earneſtly that her Son may be ſent " home with as much ſpeed as may be. And " if my Lady your Wife with your Daughter, " and the reſt, with ſuch as may be ſpared " were ſent away home, until this Rage and " Tempeſt were ſomewhat appeaſed, you " ſhall be the quieter, and diſburthened of " much of your Care. You would not think " how much we are deſirous to hear what " End theſe Troubles will have; whether it " rangeth further into all *France*, or die, and " will ceaſe here at *Paris*. *An.* 1572. *Q. Eliz.*

" Our Merchants be afraid now to go into " *France*. And who can blame them? Who " would, where ſuch Liberty is given to Sol- " diers, and where *Nec Pietas nec Juſtitia* doth " refrain and keep back the unruly Malice " and Sword of the raging Popular? *Monſieur* " *La Mote* is ſomewhat ſpoken to in this " Matter. And now the Vintage as you know " is at hand, but our Traffick into *Roan*, and " other Places in *France*, is almoſt laid down " with this new Fear. It grieveth no Man " in *England* ſo much as me: And indeed I " have in ſome reſpect the greateſt Cauſe. [I ſuppoſe, becauſe he was the great maker of the League between that King and the Queen, and did ſo aſſure the Queen of the Ingrity, Truth and Honour of the ſaid King.] " Fare you well. From *Woodſtock*, the 12th " of *September*, 1572.

Yours always aſſured,
Tho. Smith.

An. 1572. Q. Eliz.

POSTSCRIPT.

I *Moſt heartily thank you for the Book of the paſt Troubles in* France. *But alas! who ſhall now write worthily of the Treaſons and Cruelties more barbarous than ever the* Scythians *uſed?*

His Deteſtation of it. And in the ſame Month, when upon ſome Treachery feared to be acted upon *Walſingham*, he was ſent for home for ſome Time; and Tidings being brought of the Maſſacres upon the Proteſtants at *Roan*, and other Places, as well as at *Paris*; thus did this good Man expreſs his Deteſtation of theſe Practices: "The cruel Murthers of *Roan* are now long "ago written unto us, when we thought all "had been done. And by the ſame Letters "was written unto us, that *Diep* was kept "cloſe, and the ſame Executions of the true "Chriſtians lookt for there, but as then not "executed. Howbeit *Sigoigne* did warrant all "our *Engliſh* Men to be out of danger, and "not to be afraid. But what Warrant can "the *French* make now? Seals and Words of "Princes being Traps to catch Innocents and "bring them to the Butchery. If the Admi- "ral, and all thoſe Martyred on that bloody "*Bartholomew* Day, were guilty, why were "they not apprehended, impriſoned, interro- "gated and judged; but ſo much made of "as might be, within two Hours of the Aſ- "ſaſſination? Is that the manner to handle "Men

"Men either culpable or ſuſpected? So is the "Journier ſlain by the Robber; ſo is the Hen "of the Fox, ſo the Hind of the Lion, ſo "*Abel* of *Cain*, ſo the Innocent of the Wick- "ed, ſo *Abner* of *Joab*. But grant they were "guilty, they dreamt Treaſon that night in "their Sleep, what did the Innocents, Men, "Women and Children at *Lions*? What did "the Sucking Children, and their Mothers at "*Roan* deſerve, at *Caen*, at *Rochel*? What is "done yet we have not heard; but I think "ſhortly we ſhall hear. Will God, think you, "ſtill ſleep? Shall not their Blood ask Venge- "ance? Shall not the Earth be accurſed that "hath ſucked up the innocent Blood poured "out like Water upon it? I am moſt ſorry "for the King, whom I love, whom I eſteem "the moſt worthy, the moſt faithful Prince "of the World; the moſt ſincere Monarch "now Living [Ironically ſpoken no queſtion by *Smith*, becauſe to him that King uſed to profeſs ſo much Integrity.]

An. 1572. Q. Eliz.

"I am glad you ſhall come home; and "would wiſh you were at home, out of that "Country ſo contaminate with innocent "Blood, that the Sun cannot look upon it, "but to prognoſticate the Wrath and Venge- "ance of God. The Ruin and Deſolation of "*Jeruſalem* could not come, till all the Chri- "ſtians were either killed there, or expelled "from thence. But whither do I run, driven "with juſt Paſſions and Heats?

And in another Letter, "All that be not "Bloody and Antichriſtian muſt needs condole

An. 1572. *Q. Eliz.*

"and lament the Misery and Inhumanity of "this Time. God make it short, and send his "Kingdom among us.

His Reason of the manner of Answering the French *Ambassador.*

La Crocque was now in *England*, Ambassador from *France*; and notwithstanding this base bloody Action of *France*, and the Jealousies that the Queen now justly conceived of that King, yet she gave him a soft Answer to be returned to his Master, being ready to go to his own Country. Of which Ambassador's Negotiation, and the Queen's Answer, thus Secretary *Smith* spake: "His Negotia- "tion was long in Words, to make us believe "better of that King than as yet we can; and "replied to [on the *English* side] liberally e- "enough. Altho' to that Prince or Country, "who have so openly and injuriously done "against Christ, who is Truth, Sincerity, "Faith, Pity, Mercy, Love and Charity, no- "thing can be too sharply and severely an- "swered; Yet Princes, you know, are ac- "quainted with nothing but *Doulceur*; so "must be handled with *Doulceur*; especially "among and between Princes. And therefore "to temperate, as you may perceive. Not "that they [should] think the Queen's Ma- "jesty, and her Council, such Fools, as we "know not what is to be done; and yet "that we should not appear so rude and bar- "barous, as to provoke where no Profit is to "any Man.

His Observation of the Prejudice the French *did themselve in* Scotland.

Upon the Preparations that were made in *England* against the feared Attempts of the *French*, or other Roman Catholicks, at this critical

critical Time, of the Murthers committed upon the Proteſtants in *France*; the Secretary thus piouſly ſpake: "Truth it is, that God "diſpoſeth all whatſoever a Man does pur- "poſe, as Divines ſpeak. And it is his Gift, "if Wiſe Men do provide for Miſchief to "come. And yet whatſoever they do de- "viſe, the Event doth come of him only, "who is the God of Hope and Fear, beyond "Hope and Expectation. This he ſpake in reference to the *Scots*, who, hearing of this Havock in *France*, whereas the Lords there were in Civil Wars amongſt themſelves, fomented by the *French*, did now begin to come to Accord, dreading theſe Doings, and fearing ſome Danger near themſelves. For it was the Deſire of the *Engliſh* to have *Scotland* in Peace and Union, under the preſent Proteſtant King. And now by a way not thought on, they drew nearer and nearer to an Accord: To which the Cruelty in *France* helped not a little; and now continuing, much more would. Which he expreſt in theſe Words: *The* Scots, *our Neighbours be awakened by their Beacons in* France. And the *Scots*, to ſhew their Reſentment of theſe foul Doings there, iſſued out a Proclamation to that purpoſe; which the Secretary ſent to *Walſingham*. An. 1572. Q. Eliz.

An. 1572. Q. *Eliz.*

CHAP. XIV.

Secretary Smith *at* Windſor *diſpatching Buſineſs. His Care of* Flanders *and* Ireland. Maſſ-mongers *and* Conjurers *ſent up to him out of the North. His Colony in* Ireland.

The Secretary at Windſor;

IN the very beginning of *November* Secretary *Smith* was with the Queen at *Windſor*, the Lord Treaſurer *Burghley*, and moſt of the Lords of the Council being gone to *London*, to the Solemnization of ſome great Wedding, at which the Secretary alſo ſhould have been, but he thought it not convenient to go, to be preſent with the Queen whatſoever Chance might happen.

Diſpatching Agents and Iriſh *Matters.*

There were now in *England*, *Walwick*, an Agent from the Earls of Eaſt-*Freezeland*, who was very importune for an Anſwer to his Maſters Requeſts; and another Agent from the Town of *Embden*, who came about Matters of Trade. The Conſideration of whoſe Buſineſs, the Queen committed to *Alderſay*, and ſome other Merchants of *London*; who had objected againſt the Agents Propoſals, and were to give in their Reaſons. *Smith*, who was ever for Diſpatch of Buſineſs, deſired the Lord *Burghley* to call upon theſe Merchants to haſten, and to forward the Diſmiſſion of both thoſe Agents. *Iriſh* Buſineſſes, alſo lying before the Queen at this Time, were taken care

care of by him: Signifying to the ſaid Lord Treaſurer, how the Lord Deputy of *Ireland* wanted Comfort and Direction in Anſwer to his Letters. And he deſired the Treaſurer to ſend him the Draught of the Anſwer from the Lords to the ſaid Deputy, which he would cauſe to be written fair, and made ready to be Signed againſt his and the reſt of the Lords Return to *Windſor*. He further wrote to the Treaſurer, that he ſhould have the Privy Seal ſent him for 5200 *l.* for Corn and Money for the uſe of the Deputy. He mentioned two Letters withal to be ſent by the ſame Diſpatch into *Ireland*, for three Biſhopricks void there; to which the Lord Deputy had recommended certain Perſons as able and fit Men for thoſe Places. And taking care of his Friend *Walſingham*, Ambaſſador in *France*, he obtained leave from the Queen for his Return home. And when among ſeveral named to her Majeſty to ſucceed him, ſhe had her thoughts upon Mr. *Francis Carew*, as liking him moſt, he enformed the Treaſurer of it, and prayed him to ſend for the ſaid *Carew*, and commune with him to put himſelf in a readineſs: Whereby as he ſaid, he ſhould do Mr. *Walſingham* a great Pleaſure. Theſe were ſome of the State Matters *Smith*'s Hands were full of in the Month of *November*. An. 1572. Q. Eliz.

Sir *Thomas Smith* was nettled to ſee the proud *Spaniard* Domineering in *Flanders* and *Holland*, and exerciſing their Cruelties there, and introducing a Slavery among that free People; and very apprehenſive he was of the His Compaſſion for Flanders.

growing Power of that Nation, that ſo threatned their Neighbours, *France* as well as *England*: Eſpecially ſeeing withal how tender both Realms were to ſend Succors to thoſe Parts, to enable them to Vindicate their own Liberty and Safety from thoſe inhumane and inſufferable Practices there prevailing. In the mean time, the *French* accuſed the Sluggiſhneſs of the *Engliſh*, and the *Engliſh* did the like of the *French*. The Queen had ſent ſome Forces to *Fluſhing*: But there was a Report that ſhe upon Duke *D'Alva*'s Motion did revoke them. But that was not ſo; but he was gently anſwered with a dilatory and doubtful Anſwer. But indeed, more that would have gone from *England* thither, were ſtayed. The *Engliſh* on the other hand, had knowledge that the *French* did *Tergiverſari*, *hang off*, and wrought but timorouſly, and under hand with open and outward Edicts, and made Excuſes at *Rome* and *Venice* by the Ambaſſadors; importing their not meddling in *Flanders*, or excuſing themſelves, if they had done any thing there. On which Occaſion, *Smith* in a Letter to the Ambaſſador in *France*, gave both Princes a Laſh; reflecting upon the pretended Activity and warlike Qualities of the *French* King, yet that he ſhould thus waver and be afraid to engage; and upon the Slowneſs and Security of the Queen of *England*. "You have, ſaith he, "a King

An. 1572. *Q. Eliz.*

Regem experiem otii, laboris amantem, cujus gens bellicoſa jampridem aſſueta eſt cædibus tam exteriorit quam veſtri Sanguinis: Quid faciemus Gens otioſa & Pacis aſſueta, quibus imperat Regina, & ipſa Pacis atque Quietis amantiſſima?

"a King void of Leiſure, and that loves Fa-
"tigue, whoſe warlike Houſe hath been uſed
"to the ſhedding as well of their own as of
"foreign Blood. What ſhall we, a ſlothful Na-
"tion, and accuſtomed to Peace, do; Whoſe
"ſupream Governor is a Queen, and ſhe a
"great Lover of Peace and Quietneſs?

An. 1572. *Q. Eliz.*

But to ſee a little more of his Service and Counſel in the Quality and Place he ſerved under the Queen. When in this Year, 1572. the Earl of *Deſmond* was in *England* a Priſoner, but reconciled unto the Queen, and had promiſed to do her good Service in *Ireland*, and ſoon to drive out the Rebels out of the Country, the Queen and Court thought he would prove an honeſt and faithful Subject, and ſo reſolved to diſmiſs him into his Country. And ſhe told Sir *Thomas*, that ſhe would give him at his Departure (the more to oblige him,) a piece of Silk for his Apparel, and a reward in Money. Upon which Sir *Thomas*'s Judgment was, "That ſeeing the "Queen would tye the Earl to her Service "with a Benefit, it would be done, *Amplè*, "*liberaliter ac prolixè*, *non malignè & parcè*, "i. e. Nobly, liberally and largely, not "grudgingly and meanly. Which, as he ad-"ded, did ſo diſgrace the Benefit, that for "Love many times it left a Grudge behind "in the Heart of him that received it, that "marred the whole Benefit.

His Advice about the Earl of Deſmond.

A Quarrel happened this Year between the Earl of *Clanrichard* and Sir *Edward Fitton*, Governor of *Connaught*, who was ſomewhat rigorous

And the Quarrel between Clanrichard *and* Fitton.

rigorous in his Office, which had caused the Rebellion of the Earl's Son. The Case came before the Deputy and Council in *Ireland*, and at last to the Queen and her Council in *England*. Our Secretary drew up the Lords of the Councils Order about it, to be sent to the Lord Deputy and the Council there, to hear and decide it between them, and withal was sent the Earl's Book, and Sir *Edward Fitton*'s Answers given into the Council in *England*. The Earl seemed desirous to have Matters sifted to the full Trial. And then each Party might say and prove the most and worst they could. But Sir *Thomas* thought it the best way for the Deputy to perswade them both to wrap up (as he expresst it) all things by-past, and to be Friends, as they had promised, it seems, to be at a Reconciliation formerly made before the Lord Deputy, and to joyn faithfully for the Furtherance of the Queen's Majesty's Service, and the Quietness and good Order of the Country hereafter. And it was in his Judgment, as he added, "The best way to tread all under "foot, that had gone heretofore with a per- "petual *dumbe*, and to begin a new Line "without grating upon old Sores. Very wise and deliberate Council! to avoid all ripping up former Grievances, which is not the way to heal so much as to widen the old Differences.

An. 1572. *Q. Eliz.*

Mass-mongers and Conjurers sent up to the Secretary.

There was this Year both Massing and Conjuring in great measure, in the North especially; and all to create Friends to the *Scotch* Queen, and Enemies to Queen *Elizabeth*: The one

one to keep the People in the Blindneſs of Popery, and the other to hood-wink them to believe, as it were by Propheſy, the ſpeedy approaching Death of the Queen. The Earl of *Shrewsbury* was now Lord Preſident of the Council in the North. He employed two ſharp Perſons, to diſcover theſe Perſons and their Doings. Which they did ſo effectually, that in the Month of *February*, many of theſe Conjurers and Maſſmongers were ſeized, and by the ſaid Lord Preſidents Order were brought up by them that ſeized them to Secretary *Smith*, good ſtore of their Books; which Sir *Thomas* ſeeing, called, *Pretty Books and Pamphlets of Conjuring*. They brought alſo to him an Account in Writing of their Travail and pains in this behalf. There was apprehended danger in theſe Practices. For the Papiſts earneſtly longing for the Queen's Death had caſt Figures, and conſulted with unlawful Arts (which they mixt with their Maſſes) to learn when ſhe ſhould die, and who ſhould ſucceed; and probably to cauſe her Death, if they could. This piece of Service therefore the Queen and Counſel took very thankfully at the Earl of *Shrewsbury*'s Hands. Which, together with the Courſe that was intended to be taken with theſe Criminals, the Secretary ſignified to him in a Letter to this Tenor; *An.* 1572. *Q. Eliz.*

His Letter to the Earl of Shrewſbury *hereupon.* Ex Offic. Armorum.

"My very good Lord; the Pain, that the "two, to whom you gave Commiſſion, *viz.* "*Pain* and *Peg*, have taken to ſeek out the "Conjurers and Maſſ-mongers, is very well "accepted

An. 1572. Q. Eliz.

"accepted of by my Lords of the Council; "and they willed me to give your Lordſhip, "therefore their moſt hearty thanks. The "Queen alſo not without great Contentation "of her Highneſs, hath heard of your care- "ful ordering of thoſe matters. The matters "be referred touching the Maſſing, and ſuch "Diſorders, to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, "and the reſt of the great Commiſſion Eccle- "ſiaſtical. That which ſhall appear by Exa- "mination to touch the State, and the Prince, "to be referred again to my Lords of the "Council, *&c.* This was dated from *Green-* "*wich*, Feb. 17. 1572. But it was thought highly needful, that this dangerous Neſt in the *North* ſhould be ſearched more narrowly for, and the Birds taken, that they might no more Exerciſe theſe evil Practices, or worſe hereafter: The care of which was therefore committed by the Council to the Juſtices of thoſe parts, out of ſome ſecret Favour, as it ſeems, in ſome of the Privy Counſellors to Papiſts. For thoſe Juſtices were known well enough to be generally Popiſhly affected. Therefore it was the Judgment of the Secretary, that theſe Juſtices would rather Cloak than Open, Excuſe than Accuſe them, who were worthy of Accuſation; and very doubtful he was, whether they would hinder the Diſcovery of the Neſt that would be broken. As he broke his Mind to the Lord Treaſurer, who was of the ſame Judgment, and ſo alſo the Lord Chamberlain ſhewed himſelf to be, in Conference

ference with the Secretary. But the ſaid Treaſurer, who was for doing all things with *Doulceur*, and with as little oppoſition to others as could be, judged, that for this time the doings of theſe Juſtices ſhould be tried; to which Opinion the Secretary did ſhew himſelf to condeſcend and agree. There came ſoon after to his hands more *Indicia* of theſe Conjurers, which were taken, and withall, a foul knot of Papiſtical Juſtices of Peace diſcovered, and of Maſſing Prieſts, which made him ſignify his judgment to the Lord Treaſurer, that it would be well done, ſome of them ſhould be ſent for out of hand, and laid hold on, if they could be found: And accordingly Letters were diſpatched into the *North* for that purpoſe. *An.* 1572. *Q. Eliz.*

Perſwades the Queen to ſend aid into Scotland.

About this time it was that Sir *Thomas* was earneſt with the Queen, to ſend aid to reduce the Rebels in *Scotland*, who had fortified *Edenburgh* Caſtle againſt the King and Regent; and for that purpoſe, he let the Queen underſtand from Mr. *Killigrew*, her Ambaſſador in *Scotland*, how dangerouſly things ſtood there, and therefore that it was his deſire that the *Peace-makers* (as he phraſed it) might ſhortly be tranſported thither; to whom, when the Queen asked, who be they, *Marry*, ſaid he, *Your Majeſty's Cannons, they muſt do it, and make a final Concluſion.* Then ſaid the Queen, *I warrant you, and that ſhortly*: Whereupon Sir *Thomas* ſaid, he was glad, for it was better to prevent than to be prevented; ſuch was his Facetious way ſometimes of getting

ting his designs and Council to the Queen to succeed.

An. 1572. *Q. Eliz.*

Which upon his Motion, she condescends to.

For it is to be understood, that the Queen for the securing of her Affairs with respect to *Scotland*, had by her Interest there, procured the Earl of *Morton* a Protestant to be Regent of *Scotland*. But the Papists and Frenchified Party resisted and took *Edenburgh* Castle; the reducing of which so expeditely before the *French* could come in to their assistance, was owing to the Managery of the Lord Treasurer and the Secretary. His part was to urge the Queen to send speedy supply thither, and the Lord Treasurer would have Men, Ammunition and other Necessaries, and a Ship immediately ready at *Newcastle* to go for *Scotland*, upon the Queen's Order: So about the 11*th*. or 12*th*. of *February*, the Secretary moved the Queen for aiding the said Regent to reduce that place into the young King's Hands. But she considered the Expence, and told *Smith* of a device she had to do it without any such charge, that is, by a Letter to be written, it seems, to them that held the Castle, thinking to bring them to yielding by some good words and promises. But this the Secretary shewed her the inconvenience of, namely, that it would be a protracting of time, being the very thing which they desired, that the *French* might have time to come to them with their Succours. He shewed her moreover, that now, the *French* King being thorowly occupied, was the best time to perform that enterprize that was to be done; and in fine, she con-

conſented to his opinion; and ſhewed her ſelf very well pleaſed with the Lord Treaſures making Proviſion in this mean while, to have Powder and a ſhip of *Newcaſtle* and other things neceſſary provided beforehand for the doing it, as the Secretary had ſignified to Her. And ſhe told him, that upon that Lords coming to Court, (which then was at *Greenwich*) ſhe would fully determine with him all thoſe Matters to be ſet forward with ſpeed. *An.* 1572. *Q. Eliz.*

About this time were two *Scotch* men, coming from *France*, ſtopt at *Rye* by the Mayor, and ſent up to the Secretary, who examined them. They related what confident Report went in *France*, what the *French* would do in *Scotland*, and with what a mighty hand they would bring their Deſires to paſs there in ſpight of the *Engliſh*, and ſuch like. But this the Secretary ſaw was but ſuch Talk as might appear to be common in *France*. For that Nation, he ſaid, was full of Babble and Words, and all for magnifying of their doings, and Threatning what they would do, rather than what they could do. Theſe men who called themſelves Merchants were ſearched at *Rye*, and no Letters nor other things ſuſpicious found about them. Yet the Secretary adviſed that Mr. *Randal* the Queens Ambaſſadour in *Scotland*, or ſome other who knew *Scotch* Manners and Matters better, ſhould ſomewhat conſider of them: and if there were no matters againſt them, to diſmiſs them in his Mind were beſt. *Two Scotch men by him examined.*

This

An. 1572. Q. Eliz.

Sr. Thomas *ſends a Colony into* Ardes.

This year Sir *Thomas* procured a Colony to be ſent into a Land of his in *Ireland*, called *The Ardes*, It was a rich and pleaſant Country, on the Eaſtern Coaſt of *Ulſter*, and of conſiderable Extent, lying well for Trade by Sea: Bordering upon a Country where *Sarleboy* contained himſelf with his Party. He was an *Hebidian Scot* (the *Hebrides* bordering upon this Province) a long time detained priſoner by *Shan O Neal*, the chief Prince in *Ulſter*. This Country was called *Clandeboy* where theſe *Scots* lived; but they were beaten out once by this *Shan*,, who called himſelf Earl of *Tir Oen*, and had killed two of the Brethren of *Mac Conel*: Of which Family was *Sarleboy*, whom he then had taken Priſoner; but afterwards in an Extremity gave him his liberty. This *Shan* was afterwards in a revenge ſlain by *Sarleboy* and his Party. A Proſpect of theſe Parts this Map will give.

His Patent for it.

Sir *Thomas* in the year 1571. had procured a Patent from her Majeſty for theſe *Ardes*. The ſubſtance whereof was, That Sir *Tho.* was to be Lieutenant General there for War, and for the Diſtribution of Lands, Orders and Laws in the Matters thereunto pertaining. In a word, to obtain and Govern the Country to be won, following Inſtructions and Orders to him to be directed from the Queen and her Council. And this for the firſt Seven years. Afterward the Government of the Country to return to ſuch Officers as the Cuſtoms and Laws of *England* did appoint, except the Queen

North
Life P. 176
The Band
CLANEY
BOY
Toome
Moubray
Ylder Fleet
Haven
Knockfergus
Knockfergus Bay
Massenne
Belfast
KIL
Bangar
THE
Newtonn
AR
DES
VL
TO
KIL
WAR
DUFREN
NEY
Savaige
Strangford
Haven
Donne
MACCAR
Clan Brasilo
Mr. Maltby
TEN
LECALE
Mr. Maltby
Arglas
Dendrom
MAGEN
South
LOUGH EAUGH
West
East

Queen ſhould think him worthy to be appointed the Governour thereof, as being a Frontier Country. The Right to remain only in him, as to the Inheritance; the Authority to muſter and call together his ſoldiers throughout the ſame Country, and to diſpoſe of them upon the Frontiers, as he ſhould ſee cauſe for the better Defence of the Country. *An. 1572. Q. Eliz.*

In this Patent his baſe and only ſon *Thomas Smith* was joyned with him. And under his Conduct Sir *Thomas* this year ſent thither the Colony beforeſaid: having this good Deſign therein, that thoſe half barbarous People might be taught ſome Civility. And his hope was, that the Place might eaſily be defended by Garriſons placed in a ſtrait neck of Land, by which it was joyned to the reſt of the Iſland. And there was a Reward of Land, to every Footman and Horſeman. But this extenſive Project took not its deſired effect. For the hopeful Gentleman his Son had not been long there, but he was unhappily and treacherouſly ſlain. It was pity it had no better Iſſue. For Sir *Thomas* a great while had ſet his Thoughts upon it, undertaking to people that North Part of the Iſland with Natives of this Nation. *Sir Thomas's ſon leads the Colony.*

But for his more regular and convenient Doing of it, and Continuance thereof, he invented divers Rules and Orders. The Orders were of two kinds. I. For the management of the Wars againſt the Rebels, and *His Rules and Orders for it.*

An. 1572. Q. Eliz.

the preſerving the Colony continually from the Danger of them. II. For the Civil Government. To preſerve their Home-manners, Laws and Cuſtoms; that they degenerated not into the Rudeneſs and Barbarity of that Country. He divided his Diſcourſe into three Parts. Firſt, to ſpeak of Wars. And therein of Military Officers to be uſed there. Secondly, Concerning Laws for the Politick Government of the Country to be poſſeſt, for the Preſervation of it. Thirdly, In what Orders to proceed in this Journey from the beginning to the End: which Sir *Thomas* called *A Noble Enterpriſe*, and *A Godly Voyage*.

Mr. Smiths care in the Colony.

His Son being now with his Colony upon the Place proceeded commendably in order to the Reduction of it. He was in a good forwardneſs of reducing *Sarleboy* to Obedience. For they had much Converſe together, and came at length to Articles of Agreement. The main of which was, that he ſhould be made a Denizon of *England* by the Queen, and hold his Land of her and him: and the ſame Privilege ſhould the reſt of his *Scots* enjoy, Paying to the Queen a yearly Rent in acknowledgement, and he to become Homager to Her by Oath, and ſo to be a faithful Subject, or elſe loſe his Right. Mr. *Smith* alſo began a new Fort in this Country. He laboured alſo to unite the *Engliſh* and *Scots* that were there, who did not, it ſeems, very well agree. That their ſtrength being united they might be the more able to

to withſtand the Wild *Iriſh*. And this the *Scots* were for promoting, as conſidering that if the *Engliſh* and they ſhould ſtrive together, when the one had weakened the other, the Wild *Iriſh*, like the Puthawk (it was Sir *Thomas*'s own ſimilitude) might drive them out, or carry away both. *An.* 1572. *Q. Eliz.*

Beſides the Pains Sir *Thomas* had already taken for the ſettlement of the *Ardes*, he drew up this year Inſtructions to be ſent from the Queen to his Son; Containing directions upon what terms *Sarleboy* and his fellows ſhould hold their Lands of her Majeſty and him. Likewiſe he drew up a draught for explaining certain Words doubtful in the Indentures between the Queen and him and his Son. As, about his Sons ſoldiers, if they ſhould Marry in that Country, as it was likely they would. The Secretary entreated the Lord Treaſurer to ſteal a little leiſure to look theſe Writings over and correct them; ſo that he might make them ready for the Queens ſigning. And this he hoped, when once diſpatched, might be as good to his Son as Five Hundred *Iriſh* ſoldiers. *Draws up Inſtructions for his Son.*

At Mr. *Smith*'s firſt coming hither he found ſome few that claimed themſelves deſcended of *Engliſh* blood, namely the Family of the *Smiths*, and the *Savages*, and two Surnames more. And theſe preſently joyned with the *Engliſh*, and combined with them againſt the Wild *Iriſh*. But all the reſt were mere *Iriſh* or *Iriſh Scots*, and natural Haters of the *Engliſh*. *Families of* Engliſh *found in the* Ardes.

An. 1572. *Q. Eliz.*

The Queen had a Force of men in thoſe Parts for neceſſary Defence, and for the keeping of *Knockfergus*, a very important Place for curbing the *Iriſh*. But to retrench her Charge in *Ireland*, ſhe was minded now to diſcharge them as ſhe had done ſome already, expecting that *Smith* ſhould ſecure thoſe Quarters, nor would ſhe grant any Foot or Horſe to him. Sir *Thomas* therefore in *February* interceded with her by the means of the Lord Treaſurer, that at leaſt for that year ſhe would ſuffer thoſe Bands to be there, to Countenance and ſupport the New begun Aid and Fort, and not to leave it ſo naked as it had been, it ſeems, all that Winter by Caſſing thoſe Bands that were heretofore the Defence of *Knockfergus*, and the Bar of the North. And he told the Lord Treaſurer upon this Occaſion, that it was certain, if his Son had not retrieved a Band of the Lord of *Harvey*'s at his own Charge, *Knockfergus* had been in great danger, or elſe clean loſt.

Mr. Smiths *good ſervice this Winter.*

Mr. Smith *ſlain.*

But while theſe matters thus fairly and hopefully went on, Mr. *Smith* was intercepted and ſlain by a wild *Iriſh* man. Yet Sir *Thomas* did not wholly deſiſt, but carried on the Colony, and procured more Force to paſs over there. For in *March Anno exeunte*, (his Son being but newly, if yet, dead) there were *Harrington*, *Clark* and ſome others, Adventurers on this Deſign, that gave certain Summs of Money for Lands there to be aſſured to them. In the beginning of *March* 1572, the Ships, Captains and Soldiers were ready

ready to be wafted over: When unhappily ſome Perſons concerned had ſtarted ſome new Matter in regard of the Bargain. Which put a ſtop to their Departure. And one *Edward Higgins* the Chief of the Gentlemen and Captains that were going over, and forward in this generous Expedition, was hindred for want of the money agreed upon. Hence it came to paſs that the Captains lay at great Charges, when their Ships, Mariners and Soldiers were ready, and they did nothing but diſpend their Money. This troubled Sir *Thomas* not a little; as appears by a Letter he wrote to one Mrs. *Penne*, a Gentlewoman that had an Influence upon ſome of theſe Perſons that made the ſtop. To whom therefore Sir *Thomas* applied himſelf, praying her to call upon them, to conſider at what Charge the Captains did lie, and to do what ſhe could in any wiſe to help them away. Whereby ſhe ſhould do the Queens Majeſty good ſervice, and him and them great Pleaſure. It being a matter, ſaid he, which indeed for the goodneſs of it, I take much to heart. This was writ from *Greenwich* the 6th. of *March*. *Ann.* 1572. Q. *Eliz.*

The Ardes *neglected upon Sir* Thomas's *Death.*

This Care the Secretary continued. For a year or two after, I find him drawing out other Paſſports and Licences for tranſportation of Victuals for certain that went to the *Ardes*, and expreſſing himſelf then to a Friend, that it ſtood him upon both in Profit and Honeſty, not to let the preſent Month paſs, which was *May*, *An.* 1574. And ſo during

ring his Life Sir *Tho.* laboured in the Civili-
An. 1572. *Q. Eliz.* zing and Settlement of this his Colony. But upon his Death it ſeems to have lain neglected for ſome Time. And tho' the Family and Heirs of Sir *Thomas*, who are extant to this day, have often claimed their Intereſt in this Land, which their Anceſtor did ſo dearly purchaſe, and well deſerve, yet they enjoy not a foot of it at this preſent.

How loſt from the Family. For, as I have been informed by ſome of that Worſhipful Family, Sir *William Smith* Nephew and Heir to our Sir *Thomas Smith* was meerly tricked out of it, by the Knavery of a *Scot*, one *Hamilton*, (who was once a Schoolmaſter, tho' afterwards made a Perſon of Honour) with whom the ſaid Sir *William* was acquainted. Upon the firſt coming in of King *James* I. He, minded to get theſe Lands confirmed to him by that King, which had coſt Sir *Thomas* (beſides the death of his only Son) 10000 *l.* being to go into *Spain* with the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, left this *Hamilton* to ſolicite this his Cauſe at Court, and get it diſpatch'd. But Sir *William* being gone, *Hamilton* diſcovered the Matter to ſome other of the *Scotch* Nobility. And he and ſome of them begged it of the King for themſelves, pretending to his Majeſty, that it was too much for any one Subject to enjoy. And this *Hamilton* did craftily, thinking, that if he ſhould have begged it all for himſelf, he might perhaps have failed of ſucceſs, being ſo great a Thing; but that he might well enjoy a Part, eſpecially with the Concurrence and Inte-

Intereſt of ſome of the Powerful men about the King, when they begged for themſelves. And never after could Sir *William Smith*, nor any of his Poſterity recover it. For the Premiſes had been ſo long poſſeſt by others, that neither Sir *Thomas Smith*, who had ſuffered much for his unſhaken Loyalty to King *Charles* I. had ſucceſs in his Petition preferred to King *Charles* II. upon his Return, nor yet Sir *Edward Smith* ſtill ſurviving, in his, upon the late Revolution. He that is minded to know more at large how this Caſe ſtood, may in the *Appendix* find the Petition of the foreſaid Sir *Thomas Smith* exemplified, as it was humanely communicated to me by his Son together with the Kings order thereupon. *An.* 1572. *Q. Eliz.* *N. IV.*

An. 1574. Q. Eliz.

CHAP. XV.

The Secretary Oppreſſed with buſineſs. His Diſcourſe with the Queen about Ireland, *and the Earl of* Eſſex. *His Act in the behalf of Colleges of Learning. His Sickneſs and Death.*

The Secretary uneaſie,

THE Secretary could not want for Care and Toyl in theſe buſie and moſt dangerous Days, wherein the Nation was expoſed to the Malice and Envy of the Pope and the mighty Kings of *Spain* and *France*, the one more Covertly, the other more profeſſedly, but both fatal Enemies to the Queen and the Religion eſtabliſhed, the *Iriſh* backed in their Rebellion by a Foreign Power, and at home a great many Malecontents. To trace him a little in his Pains and Diligence. To them he devoted himſelf even to quite Tyring, after he had been a year or two exerciſed therein. For when once in the year 1574. he had a few Play-days, and was ready to go home to his Houſe in *Eſſex*, he told his Friends, that *he was thorowly weary, tam Animo quam Corpore, and could ſcarce endure any longer.* And that which increas'd his Wearineſs was the Queens Wariness, for ſhe did not uſe to be haſty in Diſpatch of Matters, which was *Smith*'s great Deſire ſhould not hang in hand. This he would call among his

his intimate Friends the Queens *Irreſolution*; and in ſome Heat (as he was ſomewhat haſty and quick in his Temper) complained at this time to the Lord Treaſurer, "That "it was ſometimes So, and ſometimes No; "and in all times uncertain, and ready to "Stays and Revocation. And ſometimes ſhe would not be ſpoken with upon Buſineſs, and Acceſs to the Queen was clean ſhut up. Which made him between jeſt and earneſt ſay, "That he thought her Majeſty ſup-"poſed, that he would chide, as he dared: "But indeed, he ſaid, that he could not but "Lament, and complain of this her Irreſo-"lution; which did weary and kill her Mi-"niſters, deſtroy her Actions, and overthrew "all good Deſigns and Counſels. And again in this Diſcontent he cryed out, "I wait while "I have neither Eyes to ſee, nor Legs to "ſtand upon. And yet theſe Delays grieve "me more, and will not let me ſleep in the "Night. *An.* 1574. *Q. Eliz.*

At the Queens Delays.

The Occaſion of this preſent Diſtaſte of *Smith* was, that the Queen had commanded the Earl of *Leiceſter* and Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, her chief Favourites, to forbear moving ſuits to her. And when the Secretary went to her with private Suits, he could get neither Yea nor Nay. And if theſe Two aforeſaid Perſons were forbidden to move Suits, "Then "ſaid he, had we need within a while to have "a Horſe or an Aſs to carry Bills after us, encreaſing daily and never diſpatched, as he angerly and wittily ſpake to one of his Friends.

An. 1574. *Q. Eliz.*

Friends. Of these Practices of the Queen he would say, "These Resolutions and Revocations of Resolutions will be the undoing "of any good Action.

The Queen deliberates about supplies for the Earl of Essex.

Matters in *Ireland* being in an ill Condition, the Lord Treasurer and the Secretary dealt earnestly with the Queen to supply the Earl of *Essex*, (an honest Gentleman and an excellent Commander in *Ulster*) with Men and Money; those Northern Parts of *Ireland* being now in great Disturbance; and *Essex* forced by reason of secret Enemies in the Court, to lie still and do but little to the purpose for want of both. The Queen resolved and revoked her Resolutions again. This created the Secretary a great deal of Vexation. For she would say, she would consult with the Lord Treasurer when he came to Court, tho' she had done it, and had his Opinion in that behalf before. The Earl of *Leicester* privately hindred all, having no Love for *Essex*.

The Queens backwardness thereuntotroubles the Secretary.

Thus the Earl of *Essex*'s Plat stuck with the Queen. But about 10 or 12 days passing in *March*, the Secretary comforted himself by the Perswasion that she was come to a full Resolution to go forward with it, without any going back, and that she would send for him and signifie the same to him. And had it indeed been so, to use the Secretaries Expression, the Realm and she had past a great and troublesome Ague, and especially the Lord Treasurer and himself, and such others as they, who had Doings in that Matter. But the Queen took respite again, until she heard again

again from the Lord Treaſurer. Whereat the Secretary was ſo bold as to tell her, that ſhe knew his Lordſhips Mind full many times told her before. And this he ſignified unto that Lord, and in Concluſion told him, "That "Coming unſent for to have Reſolution, he "was ſent back again without Reſolution. He "prayed God to ſend it that Night, or to mor- "row. And added, that it was high time to "reſolve one Way or other. Which done he "would be bold to take a little reſt, and make "ſome ſtart home into *Eſſex*, being thorowly "weary, he ſaid, *tam animo quam corpore*, and "could ſcarce endure any longer. *An.* 1574. Q. *Eliz.* *An* 1575.

But at laſt in the Month of *March* 1575. (*Anno incipiente*) Sir *Thomas* and the Lord *Burghley* got the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Buſineſs to come to a Reſolution. Which was, to ſend a good ſupply, with a Plat how he was to manage himſelf. The Queen had firſt entred into a diſcourſe one night with her Secretary about *Ireland*, and declared her diſlike of the Enterpriſe of *Ulſter*, for default of them who ſhould execute it, asking him what Men of Counſel or Wiſdom there were, into whoſe Hands might be committed ſo great a Maſs of Money, and ſo great a Charge as ſhould be ſent. The Secretary anſwered her Majeſty, That the Counſel, what and how to do herein, was already taken. And that a Plat was laid down by my Lord of *Eſſex*, and allowed of by the Lord Deputy and Council there, and liked of by the Lords of her Council here; as ſhe her ſelf had heard of *Conference between the Queen and her Secretary about* Ulſter,

the

the Lords, and all their Reasons; so that, said he, whereas it is said *Priusquam incipias, consulto*, that had been Maturely and Deliberately done. And to which, as he subjoyned, her Highness by Letters to the Lord Deputy, and the Earl of *Essex* had given her Consent. And now there rested nothing but, *Ubi consulueris maturè opus est facto*, To which her Majesty had set a good Beginning, giving a Warrant for the half Years Charges. Now, said Sir *Thomas*, Counsels be commonly of Old men, Grave men and full of Experience, and at home; the Execution is to be done by young men, Captains and Soldiers abroad. And, said he, my Lord of *Essex*, hath shewed great Wisdom, Courage and Boldness hitherto, and brought it to a very good Pass for a beginning; And now having more Experience, and *Malby* and other Captains with him of Courage, it was to be hoped that he should bring it to a good End. Yea, said the Queen, but who hath he with him but *Malby*? Shall I trust so great a Matter to him, and such a Mass of Money? Who shall have the Charge of it, and the laying out of it? Madam answered the Secretary, the Money is to be committed to the Treasurer there; and upon his Accounts to be employed upon the Captains and Soldiers for their Wages and Victuals, and upon Fortifications. If he do keep his Plat, then he followeth that which the Wisest Heads of the Counsellours in *England* think fit and best to be done. Otherwise

An. 1575. Q. Eliz.

And the Earl of Essex.

wiſe he deceiveth them, and your Highneſs, and moſt of all himſelf. Which it is not likely that he ſhould, and I truſt he will not do. But the Queen ſtill harped upon that ſtring, that there was lacking able Miniſters, and ſhewed her ſelf notwithſtanding at this Diſcourſe deſirous to conſult with the Treaſurer. *An. 1575 Q. Eliz.*

His Advice to the Queen concerning him.

But tho' the Commiſſion and Order for the Earl of *Eſſex*, was by her ſigned at laſt, ſtill ſhe was doubtful of the ſucceſs of her *Iriſh* affairs, thus committed to that Nobleman, ſome about her, Enemies to him, leſſening his Worth to the Queen. Whereupon the Secretary entreated the Treaſurer, whoſe Opinion ſhe greatly valued in Matters of State, that he would perſwade her to think no more of it till *Michaelmas*, that is till half a year were paſt. And by that Time he truſted ſhe ſhould ſee ſuch good ſucceſs, that ſhe ſhould be glad; and ſorry only that it was not ſet upon before. Thus earneſtly did Sir *Thomas* ſolicite his Royal Miſtreſs for the Good of *Ireland*, and labour'd to releaſe and ſatisfie her Mind anxious about her ſucceſſes, and loth to part with her Money, without fair Probability of ſucceeding. And perhaps he was the more earneſt herein, the ſafety and good Eſtate of his Lands in the *Ardes* depending upon this Expedition of that Noble Lord.

The Secretary with the Queen in Progreſs.

The Secretary was this Year with the Queen in her Progreſs. And in the Month of *Auguſt* he was with her at *Charteley*. Whence ſhe

An. 1575. *Q. Eliz.*

she went to *Stafford* Castle; and thence to one Mr. *Giffords*, the Secretary attending her. This being some part of her Progress.

The Queen speaks to the Secretary about dangerous beggars.

It was now lately grown a common Practice to ride with Daggs or Pistols. Whereby it came to pass, that Thieves wearing weapons, did more boldly rob true men travailing upon their Occasions. And there were now also common Routs of roguing Beggars by the high way side, naming themselves Soldiers of *Ireland* lately disbanded. Of both these the Queen *Decemb.* 4. willed the Lords to write unto the Lord Treasurer for the Redress of them. And she shewed the Secretary, that some of them had said they were in Company 1500. which were fain now to go a begging. The Secretary by a private Letter let the Lord Treasurer understand this, and added, that it was honourable and almost necessary, that some good Order were taken for these two Disorders. And for the Remedy hereof, Sir *Thomas* drew out a Proclamation, shewing how great and heinous Robberies and Murders had been committed, both in the Highways and other Places in divers Parts of the Realm, by such as did carry about with them Daggs or Pistols contrary to the good and wholesome Statutes of the Realm. That the Queen therefore, of a great Zeal and Care that she had to the Safety and Preservation of her Subjects, and to the good Government of the Realm in all Peace and Surety, calling to mind how unseemly a thing it was in so quiet and peaceable

able a Realm to have men go armed with such offensive Weapons as tho' it were in Time of Hostility, and how prohibited by her Noble Progenitors; did charge and command all her Subjects, of what Estate or Degree soever they were, that in no wise in their journeying, going or riding, they carried about them privily or openly any Dag or Pistol, or any other Harquebuse, Gun or such Weapon for Fire, under the Lengths expresst by the Statute made by the Queens most Noble Father, upon pain of Imprisonment, or other Punishment. And the Justices, Mayors, Bailiffs and Constables were to arrest such as should come to any Town with such Weapons. And all Keepers of Inns, Taverns, *&c.* should have care and regard, that no man should bring into their Houses any such prohibited Weapons, and if they did, to seize upon the same, and to bring the Persons to the Constable to be arrested. But because for the multitude of those evil disposed Persons which carried about them such Weapons for mischievous and unlawful Intents, some of her good Subjects had been compelled for their own Defence, and to avoid the danger of such Thieves, to provide them Daggs and Pistols and carry them openly; she was contented for a certain time specified, that all Noble men and such known Gentlemen which were without Spot or Doubt of evil Behaviour, if they carried Daggs or Pistolets about them in their Journeys openly at their Saddle Bows, and

An. 1575. *Q. Eliz.*

in

in no other close manner: And such of their Servants as rid in their Company.¶

An. 1575. Q. Eliz.

He procures an Act for Schools of Learning.

Sir *Thomas Smith* in a Parliament this Eighteenth year of the Queen, procured an Act to pass for the Universities, and the two Colleges of *Eaton* and *Wincheſter*; (for which his Memory will be always dear to Scholars) which was, that a third part of the Rent upon Leases made by Colleges, should be reserved in Corn, paying after the Rate of Six Shillings and Eight pence the Quarter, or under for good Wheat, and Five Shillings a Quarter or under for good Malt. This Corn the Tenants were yearly to deliver to the Colleges either in Kind or in Money, as the Colleges pleased, after the Rate of the best Wheat and Malt in the Markets of *Cambridge* and *Oxford*, at the day prefixed for the Payment thereof. *Fuller* in his History of *Cambridge* maketh this Remark here, "That Sir *Thomas* "*Smith* was said by some to have surprised "the House herein. Where many could not "conceive, how this would be at all profita-"ble to the Colleges; but still the same on the "Point, whether they had it in Money or "Wares. But the Knight took the Advan-"tage of the present cheapness; knowing "hereafter Grain would grow dearer, Man-"kind daily multiplying, and Licence being "lately given for Transportation. So that at "this day much Emolument redouuderh to "the Colleges in each University, by the "passing of this Act; and tho' their Rents "stand still, their Revenues do encrease.

Hist of Cambr. p. 144.

"The

The Act ran "For the bearer Maintenance "of Learning, and the better Relief of Scho- "lars, That no Master, Provost, President, "Warden, Dean, Governor, Rector or chief "Ruler of any College, Hall or House of "Learning, after the End of that Sessions of "Parliament, should make any Lease for Life "or Years, of any of their Lands, Tenements, "or other Hereditaments, to which any Tithe, "Arable Lands, Medow or Pasture did ap- "pertain; Except that one Third Part at the "least of the old Rent were reserved and paid "in Corn, that is to say, in good Wheat after "Six Shillings and Eight Pence the Quarter, "or under, and good Malt after Five Shil- "lings the Quarter or under: To be deli- "vered Yearly upon Days perfixed at the "said Colleges, *&c*, And for default thereof "to pay the said Colleges in ready Mony at "the Election of the said Leasees, after the "Rate as the best Wheat and Malt in the "Market of *Cambridge*, and in the Market of "*Oxford*, and of *Winchester* and *Windsor*, for the "Rents that were to be paid to the use of the "Houses there, were, or should be sold the next "Market day before the said Rent should be "due, without Fraud or Deceit. And that all "Leases otherwise hereafter to be made, and "all Collateral Bonds and Assurances to the "Contrary by any of the said Corporations, "should be void in Law to all intents and pur- "poses. And the same Wheat, Malt, or Mo- "ney, coming of the same, to be expended to "the Use of the Relief of the Commons,

An. 1575. *Q. Eliz.* *The Act.*

"and Diet of the ſaid Colleges; And by no
An. 1575 Q. Eliz. "Fraud, or Colour, let, or ſold away from
"the Profit of the ſaid Colleges, and the Fel-
"lows and Scholars of the ſame, and the Uſe
"aforeſaid, upon pain of Deprivation to the
"Governors, or chief Rulers, of the ſaid Col-
"leges, and all others thereto conſenting.
And this was no more than Sir *Thomas* himſelf had practiſed long before, when he was Provoſt of *Eaton*, whenſoever he made or renewed the Leaſes of that College. The Benefit of which he had well experienced by the riſing of the Prizes of Corn even in his Remembrance. For this Eternal Benefit to the Houſes of Learning, he deſerved an eternal Monument, and ſo a member of one of them in a Poetical Flight wrote:

O! Statua dignum Inventum, Phrygiaque Columna.

An. 1576. Q. Eliz. About the Year 1576. Sir *Thomas Smith* began to be afflicted with that Sickneſs, that the next Year ended his Life. Overpreſt with continual Watchings, and the publick Cares of the Queen and State. As it is a Thing that is wont to create a true Friendſhip, I mean the Proportion and Likeneſs of Tempers, ſo it is not without Remark, that Sir *Thomas*, and the Lord Treaſurer *Burghley*, their Diſtempers were the ſame. And which was more remakable ſtill, they uſed to ſeize upon theſe two Perſons at the ſame Time. Their Diſtemper was a Rheum. "The Rheum, as "he wrote to the ſame Lord, which is my "natural Enemy, is commonly wont to aſ-

Sir Thomas's fatal Diſtemper ſeizes him.

"ſault

"fault me moſt, when your Lordſhip is alſo "grievouſly troubled with yours. For *April* 22d. 1576. at which time the Lord *Burghley* was very ill of his Diſtemper, Sir *Thomas* wrote him a Letter, that he was then ſeized with his. And, which was an ill Sign, whereas before it uſed to take him either in his Jaw, or Teeth, or in the Lower Body with Looſneſs, and all over with Sweat, now it faſtned it ſelf in his Throat and Tongue; and would not by any Art be removed. So that he was almoſt out of Hope of any Amendment; but clearly without Hope of any ſpeedy Help; tho' he never took ſo much Advice, as he wrote, nor uſed ſo many Phyſicians, nor obſerved ſo much their Rules; which he ſtyled their *Preciſeneſs*. "But when all is done, added he piouſly, that man may, or ought "to do, the Sequel and Event of Health, and "the End of Life is in Gods Will and Pleaſure. That which he ſhall appoint is beſt "to me. Surely all is one, being as willing "now to Die, as to Live: and I truſt (with "Gods Mercy and Hope therein) as ready. "For it grieveth me to Live unſerviceable to "my Prince, and unprofitable to my Country, Heavy and unpleaſant to my ſelf. For "what Pleaſure can a man have of my years, "when he cannot ſpeak as he would: [For his chief Grief was in Eating, and Drinking, and Speaking; and in the laſt eſpecially] "While "his Legs, he ſaid, his Hands, his Memory and "his Wit, ſerved as much as need be deſired.

An. 1576. Q. Eliz.

An. 1576. *Q. Eliz.*

It was indeed a great Grief to him, that it ſo affected his Tongue. And he avowed, "That if it were at his own Choice, he had "rather his Diſeaſe had taken hold of any "other Part of his Body. So that, that Piece "only, as he called it, which is contained in "an handful ſpace, were at quiet. Which yet was without pain or grief, but when he Eat, or Drank, or Spake: The continual Defluxion and falling down of tough Flegm, ſtill vexing it, and interrupting the moſt neceſſary uſes of the Throat.

It affected chiefly his Tongue and Throat.

The Orator now ſcarce can ſpeak.

This envious Diſeaſe ſtopt that Eloquent Tongue of his: And that Sweet and ſtreaming Rhetoric, which was wont to flow to the Delight and Admiration of all, received now a Fatal Check, and Sir *Thomas* muſt play the Orator no more: no, nor ſcarce utter a ſingle Word. For to that Extremity he was brought at laſt. Which the Poet that wrote the *Muſes Tears* for him, thus expreſſes:

Neſcio quis ſubito Morbus ſic occupat artus,
Ut quæ olim mellita diu jam verba ſolebat
Fundere, vix aliquam poſſit tranſmittere Vocem;
Gutturis aſt imis latitans radicibus intus
Hæreret, nullumque Sonum Lingua ederet illo
Quo ſolita eſt Splendore, decus laudemq; merente.

To divert his ſickneſs, he looks over his former Writings.

He foreſaw that he was like to continue a long while in this Condition: And be ſo diſabled from his common Function, and to attend the Queen's Buſineſs. But he could not be idle, which he ſaid was contrary to his Nature.

Nature. He was therefore minded to follow his Study, and take a Review of what he had formerly done: and in this *loathful Leiſure*, as he called it, among other Occupations and Paſtimes, he would remember the Days of his Youth, and look back again to the Doings then; and now being Old *Quaſi repueraſcere*, *i. e.* hereby *as it were to grow a Child again.* When he was Secretary in King *Edwards* Days, he wrote a Book of the Value of the *Roman* Coins to our *Engliſh* Standard, upon a Queſtion *Cecil*, his fellow Secretary, had moved to him, *viz.* What was the Ordinary Wages of a Soldier at *Rome*. This Book, as many others which he wrote in his Youth, he had now loſt. Two of theſe he had ſent he remembred, one to Sir *Robert Dudley*, now Earl of *Leiceſter*, and the other to Sir *Will. Cecil*, now Lord Treaſurer, Now he had lately deſired Mr. *Wolley* to ſearch in the ſaid Earl's Study for it, but it could not be found. He deſired therefore the Lord Treaſurer to ſee for it, who he thought had not laid it up ſo negligently. And eſpecially he deſired the Tables, which were exactly and plainly ſet forth. For ſearching among his old Papers he could find the firſt Draught of the ſaid Book, and the *Adverſaria*: Whereby he was able to fill up all the Chapters in manner as they were at the firſt. But the Tables, or any Draughts of them he could not find. And he doubted that neither his Leiſure, nor Wit, nor Memory of old Books, and the Places of them, which were formerly more ready and freſh to

An. 1576. *Q. Eliz.*

His Book of Roman Coins.

him than they were at preſent, would ſerve him to make the Inſtructions again. Wherefore he prayed that Lord to look out the Book, but eſpecially the Tables. This he wrote from his Houſe at *Chanon Row*, *April* 22*d*. This Book, as it ſeems, the Lord Treaſurer found out among his Papers, and ſent it to the Secretary, according to his Requeſt; which he had deſired to ſee, as he ſaid to the ſaid Lord, *Tanquam filium poſtliminio redeuntem, perditum quaſi, & iterum inventum.*

An. 1576. *Q. Eliz.*

This Book is mentioned, and no more but mentioned, in the Hiſtory of Queen *Elizabeth*, by Mr. *Cambden*; only that he calls it an exact Commentary, and worth the publiſhing. After I had made great Enquiry after it without ſucceſs, at length I fortunately met with Sir *Thomas* his own rude Draught of it, in ſeveral Tables of his own hand, ſhewn and communicated to me by the obliging Favour and kindneſs of Sir *Edward Smith*. A true Extract whereof I have made, and preſented to the Readers in the *Appendix*.

N. B.

The Phyſicians tamper with him.

April 25*th*. the Lord *Burghley* ſent a Gentlemen to Sir *Thomas*, to viſit him in this his Valetudinary State. Which he took kindly, and gave him an account of his Sickneſs, and of his Progreſs in Phyſic. Which was to this Tenor; That he had put himſelf into the Phyſicians hands; and they according to their Method, firſt fell to Purging him, to free his Body from peccant Humours as a Preparatory to other Phyſic. A Practice which he did not like of, becauſe it would make a great Diſtur-

Diſturbance of the whole Body, and affect the Parts that were well, and in a good State. And ſo indeed it happened to him. For this Phyſic put his whole Body, and all the Parts of it, into a Commotion and Indiſpoſition: When it was perfectly well before, as appeared by his Urine, and by his own Feeling and Apprehenſion of himſelf. But after he had taken this Preparatory Phyſic, there was no part of his Body, which was not brought out of Frame. His Urine ſo troubled, ſo high coloured, and ſo confuſed: Which did beſpeak a Seditious Rout of Humours raiſed in his Body, as he ſpake. This being a little ſetled, they gave him a Pill, which was as inſucceſful as the other. For it gave him ſcarcely a Stool; and that with abundance of Wrack and Torment, and left ſuch an unpleaſant and bitter Reliſh in the Stomach, that he was forced to vomit it up again. The next Courſe that was taken with him, was Shaving his Head, and wearing a Cap: Which one Dr. *Langton* was the chief Preſcriber of, accounted of Excellent Uſe for thoſe that were troubled with great Rheums: And was himſelf preſent, when it was laid on. The Effect whereof was to be ſeen after Eight or Ten Days. Sir *Thomas* was very unſatisfied with his Phyſicians, who for two or three Months had been thus tampering with his Body, and with no manner of ſucceſs; whereas he was for a ſpeedier Work; and declared himſelf of the *Smiths* mind, his Nameſake in *Plato*, who willed the Phyſician to give him

An. 1576. Q. Eliz.

An. 1576. 18 Eliz.

a thing that would ſpeedily rid him of his Diſeaſe, that he might again Suſtain his Wife and Family with his Labour, or elſe be rid quickly. For he had no leiſure to attend the long Prorogation of thin Diet, and protracting Phiſic. That Mind, ſaid he, which the Smith had of neceſſity, I have of Will and Deſire, and ever had; Not to live, being unſerviceable to my Prince, and the Common Wealth.

His Phyſicians leave him to Kitchin Phyſick.

In the beginning of *May* his Phyſic having greatly weakned his Body, and all his good Humours dryed therewith, and his Sickneſs ſo obſtinate, that it little cared for Medicine, all his Phyſicians with one accord agreed, adviſing him to forbear all further Medicaments, and to apply himſelf to Kitchin Phyſic, giving him leave to Eat and Drink what he would, and what his Appeite deſired. And ſo he reſolved to retire home to his Houſe called *Mounthaut* in *Eſſex*, a Mannor Houſe of his, where now ſtands *Hill Hall*, the preſent Dwelling of Sir *Edward Smith* Baronet, before mentioned. And here he truſted to leave his Sickneſs, or his Life. "Whether pleaſeth God, ſaid he, that is beſt. "But if it were in my Choice, I would leave "them both at once. Yet muſt I keep "life ſo long as I can, and not leave the Sta- "tion wherein God hath ſet me, by my de- "fault, and without his Calling. And ſo mind "I to do: Truſting very ſhortly to have ſome "plain ſignification from his Majeſty, to whi- "ther Haven I ſhall apply my Ship, of "Death

Goes into the Country.

"Death or Health. Bleſſed be his Ho-
"ly Will. *An.* 1577. Q. Eliz.

God gave not our Knight his Deſire, that is, a Speedy Death, or ſpeedy Recovery. For he continued in a decaying, conſumptive, Waſting Condition all this Year, and onward the next till *Auguſt*; putting a Concluſion to his generous, and moſt uſeful Life at his beloved Retirement of *Mounthal*, or *Mounthaut* (as he delighted to call it) on the 12th. day of the ſaid Month, in the Year 1577. in the Sixty Fifth Year of his Age, in an eaſie and quiet Departure. And he never was afraid of Death. *Dyes.*

He was attended to his Grave with a Decency and Splendor, becoming the high Place and Figure he had made. There aſſiſted in Mourning at his Funerals *George Smith*, his Brother, and *William* the ſaid *Georges* Son, *Wood*, Sir *Thomas*'s Nephew, *Altham*, *Nicols* Recordor of *Walden*, *Wilford*, *Goldwel*, Dr. *Pern*, Dr. *Levine*, and many more. Of whom, as ſome were his Relations, others the Neighbouring Gentry, and his Worſhipful Friends, ſo ſeveral were Learned men, that came as it ſeems, from the Univerſity, to pay their laſt reſpects to that Grave Head, Venerable for his profound and Univerſal Learning, and that had ſo well merited of the Learned World. *Perſons attending his Funerals.*

He was Buried in the Chancel of the Pariſh Church of *Theydon Mount*, where he dyed: On the North ſide whereof, at the upper end there ſtill remains a fair Monument dedicated to his Memory: Tho' the Church hath *Buried.*

hath since been beat down by Lightning, and rebuilt by his Nephew Sir *William Smith*.

An. 1577. *Q. Eliz.*

His Monument.

He is represented by a Statue of Marble lying upon his right side in Armour, a loose Robe about him, with the Arms of the Knighthood of the Garter upon the left Arm of the said Robe, denoting him Chancellor of the Garter: Placed under an Arch or Semicircle: on which is Engraven this English *Stanza*,

What Earth, or Sea, or Skies contain,
What Creatures in them be,
My Mind did seek to know;
My Soul the Heavens continuallie.

Upward on the highest part of the Monument, was placed his Coat of Armes; which was three Altars flaming, supported with as many Lions. Round which were these two Verses Written, alluding to the Fire or Flame there,

Tabificus quamvis Serpens oppresserit Ignem,
Qua tamen erumpendi sit data Copia lucet.

Under his Coat this Motto, *Quapote lucet.* The Inscription was as followeth.

THOMAS SMITHUS Eques Auratus, Hujus Manerii Dominus, cum Regis EDWARDI Sexti, tum ELIZABETHÆ Reginæ Consiliarius, ac primi Nominis Secretarius; Eorundemque Principum ad maximos Reges Legatus; Nobiliss. Ordinis Garterii

rii Cancellarius, Ardæ, *Auſtraliſque* Claneboy *in* Hibernia *Colonellus: Juris Civilis ſupremo Titulo etiamnum Adoleſcens inſignitus*; *Orator, Mathematicus, Philoſophus excellentiſſimus*; *Linguarum* Latinæ, Græcæ, Hebraicæ, Gallicæ *etiam &* Italicæ *Callentiſſimus: Proborum & Ingenioſorum Hominum Fautor eximius, Plurimis commodans, Nemini noceus*; *Ab injuriis ulciſcendis alieniſſimus*: *Denique Sapientia, Pietate, Integritate inſignis*: *Et in omni Vita, ſeu æger ſeu valens, intrepidus mori*: *Cum Ætatis ſuæ* 65 *annum compleviſſet, in Ædibus ſuis* Montaulenſibus 12 *die* Aug. *Anno ſalutis* 1577, *piè & ſuaviter in Domino obdormivit.* An. 1577. Q. Eliz.

Next under the *Effigies* is this grave Sentence, *Gloria vitæ anteactæ Celebrem facit in Terræ Viſceribus ſepultum.* Under that this Diſtich:

Innocuus vixi, ſi me poſt Funera lædas,
Cœleſti Domino facta (Sceleſte) lues.

He left behind him his ſecond Wife *Philippa*; who dyed the Year after him; that is, the 20th. day of *June* 1578. and was there buried by him; as is expreſt in the Baſe of the aforeſaid Monument. *His Lady dies.*

Sir *Thomas Smith* was of a fair Sanguin Complexion: His Beard, which was large and ſomewhat forked, at the Age of Thirty three years, was toward a yellow Colour. He had a calm, ingenious Countenance: As appears by the Picture of him hanging up in the Parlour of *Hilhall*, done, as they ſay, by *Hans Holben*; where *His Perſon deſcribed.*

where he is repreſented with a round Cap on his Head, and in a Gown, as a Civilian: A great Ruby Ring upon his fore Finger, with a curious Seal. Which Ring is ſtill preſeved in the Family, and in the Poſſeſſion of Sir *Edward Smith*: laying one of his Hands upon a Globe, that of his own making, as you may ſuppoſe. Underneath the Picture is written *Love and Fear*, the two great Principles of Actions, wherewith God and Princes are to be ſerved.

An. 1577. *Q. Eliz.*

CHAP. XVI.

His laſt Will.

Makes his Will.

HE began to frame his Will in the firſt Threatnings of his laſt Sickneſs, that is, about *Apr.* 2. 1576. "Wherein he piouſly be-"queathed his Soul to God his Creator and "Redeemer. By whoſe Mercy he truſted to "be one of his Elect: (I uſe the Words of his "ſaid Will) And his Body to be buried at "*Theydon Mount*, or elſe where it ſhould pleaſe "his Executors, and with ſuch Ceremony as "ſhould pleaſe them, and they ſhould think "convenient: having rather regard to the "Relief of the Poor, than to any extream man-"ner of Mourning, not becoming Chri-"ſtians: Knowing that (as he truſted) he "ſhould dye to a better Life, and go to his God "and his Hope, which he had ſo longed for.

And

And whereas he was then in Building of his Houſe and Sepulchral Monument for himſelf, and his Lady, by a Platform of his own; for the perfecting them, as alſo for mending of the Ways, he left his ready Money and Debts owing him after his Funerals and Legacies diſcharged, and all his Chains of Gold (which ſeem to have been given him in his Embaſſies) and a 1000 Ounces of Gilt Plate, and more, if need were, together with all the Materials of Timber and other Stuff prepared and laid in for that Purpoſe. *An. 1577. Q. Eliz.* *For the finiſhing of his Houſe and Monument.*

To his Lady for her Houſe keeping, ſutable to her, and his Quality, he gave all his Kine, Oxen, Sheep, Plow, Carthorſes, and all his Cattel at *Theydon at Mount*, called his *Stock*; which was a little before by the leaſt Account valued at 430 *l.* or thereabouts, and brought at that Time to 300*l.* and odd, by the Expences of Chriſtmaſs, (ſo that his laſt Chriſtmas keeping coſt him it ſeems near 130 *l.*) Beſides Swine, and the Corn ſown upon the Ground, and all his Wheat, Malt, and bargain of Malt, Wine, Hops, and other ſuch like Proviſion: To help her to keep Houſe. But upon Condition ſhe maintained, until his Buildings were fully finiſhed, and the Ways about his Houſe mended, ſo many Teams as were then to be occupied about Carriages: And upon Condition alſo that what ſhould remain of the ſaid Stock, at the Time of her Deceaſe, and the Corn ſown by her upon the Grounds, ſhould remain to his Brother *George*, or ſuch as by Sir *Thomas*'s Device ſhould *To his Lady.*

An. 1577. *Q. Eliz.*

ſhould ſucceed in *Mounthal*. To his Wife he alſo gave all her Apparel, Jewels, Chains of Gold, and all ſuch Bedſteds, and Bedding, all Goblets, Bowls and other Plate, which ſhe brought with her from *Hampden*, to diſpoſe at her Will and Pleaſure. And more, to the Furniture of her Houſe, ſhe might chuſe out 700 Ounces of ſuch of his Plate gilt, or ungilt, as ſhe ſhould think beſt to ſerve her Turn.

For preſerving good houſekeeping.

Which 700 Ounces of Plate, he gave after her Death to his Brother *George*, or who ſhould ſucceed at his Manor of *Theydon at Mount*, and all the Bedſteds, Beds and Furniture there, as were in his new Building, and other Braſs, Pewter, and Implements, as well bought as made at his Charge. Theſe not to be ſold, nor alienated away: but at leaſt two third Parts thereof to remain to him that ſhould ſucceed his Brother *George* in *Theydon at Mount*; Giving ſecurity to his Nephew *John Wood*, and his Heirs, and ſo each Succeſſor to his Succeſſor. And all this Caution Sir *Thomas* uſed for the better ſecuring good Houſekeeping, at that which had been his Seat, for times to come. And becauſe his Wife might take away and diſpoſe of ſeveral Things then at his Houſe, which had been brought from *Hampden*, to ſupply ſuch Defects, he gave his Brother *George* all his Houſehold Linin, Beds and Hangings, that belonged to *Ankerwic*, another Houſe of his in *Barkſhire*: That ſo his Houſe at *Hilhal* might not be diſfurniſhed. Nay, and ſuch care did he take for creditable Houſe-

Houſekeeeping there, that if any Perſon, to whom he had Willed the Premiſſes, were ſuſpected not to perform this Condition to his Succeſſor; it ſhould be Lawful for him, to whom it ſhould deſcend, after the Death of the ſuſpected, to require Sureties for the Performance of the Condition: Which if it were refuſed, then the two third parts left to the ſuſpected, ſhould be immediately delivered to his Poſſeſſion who ſhould ſucceed him, as his own, given from Sir *Thomas* to him. *An. 1577. Q. Elix.*

He gave his Brother *George* a Thouſand Ounces of Plate, for the furniſhing of his Stock. But upon Condition that he left three fourth Parts of that, to him that ſhould ſucceed him in *Theydon Mount*, and his Succeſſor to the next; and his Succeſſor again to the next; and ſo each to other. And all this was ſtill for preſerving and keeping up of the Houſe at *Hillhall*. *To his Brother.*

Many Legacies beſides, he gave to his Relations, Friends and Dependents. And becauſe he ſaw none of thoſe that ſhould ſucceed him of a long time, were like to take to Learning, he gave all his Latin and Greek Books to *Queens College* in *Cambridge* (where he had been brought up) and his great Globe, of his own making; but ſo, that the Maſter and Fellows, having Warning ſo ſoon as he was dead, or, at the leaſt ſo ſoon as he was Buried, or before (the which he willed they ſhould have, with a true Inventory carried to them of his ſaid Books) ſent Carts to fetch them away within Ten or Twelve Days. And *His Library to* Queens College;

theſe

An. 1577. V. Elix.

theſe he gave alſo upon Condition, that they chained them up in their Library, or did diſtribute them among the Fellows, ſuch as would beſt Occupy them. But ſo that they did it by Indenture and Condition; that when they departed from the College, they reſtored them to the College again. But in caſe the Maſter and Fellows of the ſaid College, would not fetch them away; ſending ſome careful Man to ſee them well truſſed and packed, then he gave them to *Peter Houſe*, upon like Condition. If neither of them would do it, then he Willed his Executors to Sell or uſe them at their Diſcretion.

Or Peter Houſe.

Books to his Friends.

But yet of many of his Books, he made gifts to his Learned Friends, or Scholars at the Univerſity. As to Mr. *Shaw*, Parſon of the Pariſh, wherein he lived, *Chryſoſtoms* Works in five Volumes, *Origen* in two Volumes, *Luthers* Works, *Bucer*, *Galatinus*, *Felvus ſuper Pſalterium*, *Pet. Martyr* in lib. *Judicum*. And as he gave theſe Divinity Books to a Divine, ſo to one *Tho. Crow*, a Phyſician, whom he called his Servant, he gave theſe Books of *Galen*, *de Compoſitione Medicamentorum*, *de Alimentorum Facultatibus*, *Methodus Medendi*. *Petrus Pena de Herbis*, *Antidotarium ſpeciale*. *Turners Herbal*, *Fallopii Opera*, *Rondeletius*. And beſides theſe, he gave him the Monument of Martyrs in two Volumnes, and a Latin Bible in *Quarto* Gilded. Alſo to Sir *Clement Smith* (ſo called, I ſuppoſe, becauſe he was in Prieſts Orders, then a Reſident of *Queens College*; and the ſame I conjecture with him, that was after Dr.

Doctor of Divinity, a Younger Son of his Brother *George*) he gave, or rather lent, *Titus Livius*, *Ariſtotle* in Greek, and *Plato* in Greek and Latin, *Tullies* Works, and Ten more of his Books, which the ſaid *Clement* would chuſe: on Condition, that when he went away from the College, he ſhould reſtore them to the College again. *An. 1577. 19 Eliz.*

He gave a ſtanding Maſſy Cup, which had the Seven Planets in the Cover, to the Queen, as moſt worthy, "having all the good Gifts "endued by God, which he aſcribed to the "Seven Planets; (they be the Words of the "Will) Praying her Majeſty to take that "ſimple gift in good worth, as coming from her Faithful and Loving Subject. *A Cup to the Queen.*

And in caſe of any Ambiguity or Doubt, ariſing in any part of his Will, he gave Authority to his Executors to add to it to make it more plain, with good Advice, ſo that they kept the true meaning and ſenſe. And then himſelf gave a general Explanation of one chief Part of his Will, namely, That he would have him that ſhould enjoy the Houſe and Mannor of *Theydon at Mount*, to be able to keep Houſe there, to the Relief of the Poor, and to ſet Neighbours at Work. But if the Executors could not reconcile ſome Ambiguity that might happen in his Will, thatthen they ſhould ſtand to theDeciſion and Judgment of his Coſen *Nicols* a Lawyer, Mr. *Henry Archer*, (a worthy Gentleman of the Pariſh of *Theyden Garnons*, afterwards Living and Dying at *Low Leyton*) and Parſon *In caſe of Doubt ariſing in the Will.*

An. 1577 *Qu. El.* 19. *Shaw* aforementioned; whom he made Supervisors of his Will. Which he did in a great point of Wisdom, to avoid Controversies of Law: Which oftentimes break Friendship, and swallow up an Estate so contended for.

His Executors. He made his Youngest Brother *George Smith*, who had several Children, and his Nephew by his Sister, *John Wood*, his Executors.

The Date of his Will. This Will is said to be reviewed and corrected by him after the Death of his Nephew *William Smith* of *Walden* (the Son as it seems of his second Brother *John Smith*) *Febr.* 18. 1576. when he Signed with his Hand every Page. All his Manors, Lands and Tenements he had already given by Indenture, made between him on the one part, and *Francis Walsingham* Secretary to the Queen, *James Altham*, *Henry Archer*, Esquires, *Humphrey Mitchel*, and his Nephew *John Wood* on the other Part, bearing date, *Febr.* 4th. in the 19th year of the Queen. This Will was proved 15. *Aug.* 1577. before *Tho. Yale*, by *John Wood*, that is, three days after Sir *Thomas*'s Death: And by *George Smith*, not before *May* 14. 1578. I do not meet with many Bequests of Charity, in this Will, because those Acts he seemed to have done, as the wisest and surest Course, in his Life time, when himself might see them truly and justly performed.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

Obſervations upon Sir Thomas Smith.

NOW to make a few Obſervations upon this Wiſe and Learned Gentleman.

And firſt, Of his Learning. For he was one of the greateſt Scholars of his Age; and one of thoſe many brave Shoots that the Univerſity of *Cambridge* then produced: As *Denny*, *Cheke*, *Haddon*, *Aſcham*, *Ponet*, *Cecil*, and ſome others; that for their Merits and Parts, were tranſplanted to the Court. His Profeſſion was the Civil Law, and he was the firſt *Regius* Profeſſor of it in the Univerſity, placed therein by the Royal Founder King *Henry* VIII. whoſe Scholar he was. But tho' that were his Profeſſion, yet he was a Man of General Learning. He was a great *Platoniſt*. Which Noble and Uſeful Philoſophy, he and *Cheke* brought into Study in the Univerſity, accuſtomed before to the crabbed, barbarous, uſeleſs Schoolmen. *Haddon* ſpeaking to him of *Plato*, calleth him *Plato tuus*, *Your Plato*; who, he told him, called upon him to ſerve his Country, and to be ready too to give it all that he had received from it. *His Learning.* *A Platonick.*

He underſtood Phyſic well. In his Oration for the Queens Marrying, againſt him that had declaimed for her ſingle Life, and *A Phyſician.*

among other Reaſons for it urged the Diſeaſes and Infirmities that attended Childbearing, he aſſerted on the contrary, how it preſerved Women from Diſeaſes, and other Inconveniences; and cleared their Bodies, amended their Colour, and prolonged their Health: and undertook to bring the Authorities and Reaſons of Phyſic for it. And when in *March* 1574. the Lord Treaſurer had a fit of an Ague, *Smith* ſhewed his skill that Way, by the Judgement that he made of it; ſaying, "That he truſted it was but *Diaria*, coming of a ſudden Obſtruction in the "Pores of his Skin, as he told him, by Cold: "That which in a rare Body, and tenderly "kept muſt needs be, till either by Evapora-"tion or Sweat, the ſame be opened again. And ſo he hoped that now that Lord, had but the wearineſs of that Accident, and no formed Ague. His Skill herein alſo appeared in his Diſcourſing ſo learnedly of his own Diſtemper, as we heard before.

His Recipe *for the Plague.*

And here I will ſet down a *Recipe* I find in one of his Note-books, under his own Hand, for a Sickneſs in the Years 1558. and 1559. among the People. Watercreſſes, Scabious, Pileworth, Egremony. Boyl theſe with Barly, of each a good handful, (ſaving Egrimony, but a little) Two Sticks of Liquoriſh bruiſed with an Hammer, in running Water two Gallons, till the one half be conſumed. Drink warm Morning and Evening, half a Pint or thereabouts at a Draught, and at other times of the Day cold. If they

ſweat

ſweat after it, it is the better. This purifieth the Bloud, and taketh away that kind of Plague or Sickneſs. But there is the Name of Mr. *Gale* ſet under this *Recipe*, from whence perhaps therefore he had it. Once more I find him playing the Phyſician, with the Counteſs of *Oxon*, the Lord Treaſurers beloved Daughter; when in the Month of *December* 1574. ſhe lay under Sickneſs, and far gone in it; her Stomach gone, and not able to digeſt any thing; which made her refuſe all Phyſic. Sir *Thomas* ſent her a Water to take in a Spoon at once: and ſo to uſe it from time to time. Of his ſending this Water to her, he gave her Noble and diſconſolate Father to underſtand, and withall let him know the Properties of it; and that if ſhe took no other ſuſtinence in three days, it would nouriſh her ſufficiently. And within 2 hours he doubted not but his Lordſhip would ſee great Effects, and peradventure ſome Appitite to Meat to begin to come to her within that ſpace, Adding, that there was never any one yet, but felt good by it.

His Chymical Water ſent to the Counteſs of Oxford.

He was very converſant in the Comment uries of *Matthiolus* upon *Dioſcorides*, and had interſperſed his own Book of *Matthiolus*, with many Notes and obſervations of his own. It was a Book that was never wont to go from him. But ſome Body it ſeems once had ſtollen it, which grieved him not a little, complaining to his Friends, that he had rather have loſt a far better thing: Nor could another be bought any where in *London*. Therefore in the

His Matthiolus.

year 1572. *Walſingham* being Ambaſſador in *France*, he prayed him to procure him the ſaid Book there tranſlated into *French*; and to let it be bound with two or three ſheets of Paper, before and in the End, to ſerve him for inſerting his Notes. This Book *Walſingham* accordingly bought, and ſent him over. And *Smith* liked it well: but yet, as he told him, if he could have recovered his own, noted through with his own Hand, he ſhould have liked that far better. By his converſing in theſe Books, we may judge of his Learning that Way

A Chymiſt. And as *Chymiſtry* is but an Handmaid of *Phyſic*, and uſually accompanieth it, ſo he was as well Skilled in that Art alſo: And had Apartments in his Houſe for his Stills and Laboratories: Which were going to his great Coſt. But eſpecially in Labouring to tranſmute coarſer Mettals into thoſe of more Fineneſs, and greater Value.

A Mathematician. He was an excellent *Mathematician*; and for his Recreation therein, made a large Globe by his own Hand. It was his Love and Practice of the Mathematicks, that made him deſire of *Walſingham* at the ſame time he ſent to him to buy him *Matthiolus*, to procure him alſo a Caſe of Mathematical Inſtruments, directing him to the Place where they were ſold, that is, at the Palace in *Paris*. He meant that it ſhould contain two Compaſſes or three, a Square, a Pen of Metal and other things. He had two already. But he was minded to have another of the biggeſt ſize,

with

with the Case a foot long. *Walsingham* accordingly in *Jan.* 1572. sent him a Case of Tools: But such it seems as were extraordinary; for *Smith* himself understood not them all, nor lookt for so many, nor of that sort. But this was proper Employment for him; and at his leisure he intended to find out the Property and Use of them.

What an Arithmetician he was appears by his Money Tables. *An Arithmetician.*

Nor was he a Smatterer in *Astronomy*. The new Star which in the Year 1572. appeared in *Cassiopeia* exercised much his thoughts, as it did the rest of the Learned men of the World. And he could almost have been willing to believe it to be the Soul of that brave Admiral of *France*, that had been a little before that time so basely murthered in the *Parisian* Massacre. *Smith* was mighty desirous to know what foreign Learned Men judged of this new Star. Therefore *Decemb.* 11. 1572. he wrote to *Walsingham* thus of it, "That he was sure he had heard of it, and he "thought had seen the new fair Star or Co- "met, but without Beard or Tayl, which ap- "peared in *England* these three Weeks, on the "backside of the Chair *Cassiopeia*, and on the "Edge of *Via lactea*. The bigness was betwixt "the bigness of *Jupiter* and *Venus*, and kept there "to his Appearance, who had no Instrument "then to observe it; and because of that cold "weather also, dared not observe the precise "Order of the fixed Stars. Such an one he "had never observed, nor read of. He there- *An Astronomer.* *His judgment of the Star in Cassiopeia.*

" fore prayed *Walſingham* to let him know " what their Wiſe men of *Paris* did judg upon " it. He knew they would not think it that " Admirals Soul, as the *Romans* did of the Comet " next appearing after the Murder of *Julius* " *Cæſar*, that it was his Soul. It might be " *Aſtræa*, ſaid he, now peaking out afar in " the North, to ſee what Revenge ſhall be " done upon ſo much innocent Bloud ſhed " in *France*, at a marriage Banquet, and reer " Suppers after it. Yet that it would be accepta- " ble to him, to underſtand what their Aſtro- " nomers, and Heaven-gazers there did judge " of it. He added, that if he were not ſo " much occupied as he was, he would turn " over all his old Books, but he would ſay " ſomething of it himſelf, and gueſs by chance, " even as wiſely as they; tho' he would not " publiſh it but to his Friends. *Walſingham* in Anſwer to this of the Secretary, ſent him certain Notes, and a new Book from *France*, of this new Comet. For which he thanked him; but withal he obſerved to him, that in the placing of it, their Aſtronomers and theſe in *England* differed exceedingly: Theirs placing it in the 29 of *Piſces*, and ours in the 7th. degr. of *Taurus*. So they varied one whole Sign, and Eight Degrees. He obſerved moreover, that the printed Book went upon it *Suſpenſo pede*: and prayed the Ambaſſador, that if any had writ upon it more boldly, he might ſee it. He added further, that our Men did not deny that it aroſe in that Degree of *Piſces*, or the firſt of *Taurus*, but that it was one

one thing to rise with the Degree of the *Zodiack*, and to stand in a place after Section of the *Zodiack*; and that our Men did find him far above the Moon, and above the height of the Sphere of *Venus*. And then it could not be a Temporary Comet. Concluding, "Now "things above the Moon do rise and die, "which was never believed afore, but either "a new Star made, or an old Star new seen. Thus we see him busie in his Astronomy. Nay, if we may believe his Poet, and that he did not take too much Poetical Liberty, *Smith* was arrived to the very Top of the Astronomical Skill, and might be a companion for *Ptolomy*, *Alphonsus* and *Zacutus*, if they were alive:

Nec Polus aut Tellus magis ulli cognita cuiquam.
Quorsum ego dissimulem? Fuit unus & unicus ille
Filius Uraniæ, Ptolomæo *major utroque*,
Et centum Alphonsis, *& plusquam mille* Zacutis.

And perhaps the Love and Study of the Stars might be one Reason that he delighted so much in his high Seat at *Mounthaut*: where he might have a more spacious Prospect of the Skies.

In *State-Policy* he was a great Master: Which by long Experience in State matters at home, in the Reigns of four Princes, and Embassies abroad, he had acquired. *Walsingham* that most compleat and happy Secretary of State, improved himself much by making his Observations of *Smith*; how quick and sharp his Apprehension of things, how

A Politician.

how grave and ſound his Counſels, and with what Dexterity and admirable Parts, he managed publick Affairs, and yet with clean and juſt hands. So he ſung that made his Funeral Verſes,

———*Socius tem'orum inſignis Honorum*
Qui vigilanti oculo SMITHI obſervaſſet Acumen,
Senſiſſetque acres ſenſus, animumque virilem,
Conſiliumque grave, & pectus moreſque colendos,
Virtutes etiam raras, Doteſque ſtupendas.

A Linguiſt. He was alſo an excellent *Linguiſt*, and a Maſter in the knowledge of the *Latin*, *Greek*, *French*, *Italian* and *Engliſh* Tongues. A great Hiſtorian, eſpecially in the *Roman* Hiſtory: An Orator equal to the beſt, and a perfect *Ciceronian*. A Notable Specimen of whoſe Oratory and Hiſtory, as well as of his Polities, appears in his Diſcurſive Orations about Queen *Elizabeth*'s Marriage. He had alſo a very good Genius in Architecture, which that Noble Pile of Building at *Hilhal* doth ſufficiently demonſtrate. And in the Art of Gardening, he was very curious and exact: Employing his own Hands ſometimes for his diverſion in grafting and planting. At which work I find him, when he was making an Orchard for his new Houſe about the latter end of 1572. having made an Eſcape from the Court: tho' the Winds then were very unkind to him. Of which complaining to the Lord Treaſurer, he ſaid he ſhould ſoon be weary of *Mounthaut*, be-

An Hiſtorian.

An Orator.

An Architect.

cauſe

cauſe he could not graft nor tranſplant any Trees, the Winds that then brought over the Earl of *Worceſter* from *France* (who had been lately ſent to *Chriſten* that Kings Child) being as he ſaid the worſt Enemy to all Cutting, Paring, or breaking of Trees here in *England* that could be, or for ſetting of Herbs.

And as he was an univerſal and thorow-paced Scholar, ſo he had a moſt compleat Library, and kept a Learned Correſpondence, and was of a very accurate Judgment in matters of Learning. His Library conſiſted of a thouſand Books, of various Learning and Arts, as we are told by the Learned man his Friend, that made his *Parentalia*: Which noble Treaſure he beſtowed upon his own College, where at leaſt the Remainders of them are to this day: beſides ſome *Italian* and *French* Books, which he gave to the Queens Library. *His Library.*

——*Libros Monumentaque mille*
Græca, Latina omnis generis, nova, priſca, profana,
Religioſa dedit:
Italicos *præter quoſdam Francoſque libellos*
Elizabeteæ *pius Heros Bibliothecæ.*

A Catalogue of the Books which he had at *Hilhal* in the Year 1566. may be ſeen in the *Appendix*. *N. VI.*

And as he was Owner of many Books, ſo he compoſed not a few himſelf. Three whereof are Printed. I. His Commonwealth of *England*, both in *Latin* and *Engliſh*. II. Of the *Books by him written.*

the right and correct Writing of the *Engliſh* Tongue. This I ſuppoſe is the ſame Book with that which *Fuller*, in his Hiſtory of *Cambridge* mentions, Of his more compendious way of Printing: which would defalcate a fifth part of the Coſt in Paper and Ink, beſides as much of the Pains in Compoſing and Printing, only by diſcharging many ſuperfluous Letters, and accommodating the Sounds of long and ſhort Vowels, with diſtinct Characters. III. Of the right and correct Pronouncing of the *Greek* Language. Both theſe laſt mentioned were publiſhed by himſelf in *Latin*, when he was Ambaſſador in *Paris*. There is a Fourth Book lately Printed, *viz.* 1685. which ſome make him the Author of, namely, Of the Authority, Form and Manner of holding Parliaments. Other Tracts there be of his, that have lain hitherto unpubliſhed, As his Orations about the Queens Marriage; His diſcourſe of Money, and his Tables for the reducing the *Roman* Coins to the juſt *Engliſh* Standard. I have alſo ſeen another large Writing, which by the hand ſeems to be his, ſhewing certain ways and means for the taking care of, and for the maintaining the Poor of the Nation. And many more, whereof as yet, neither the ſight, nor the particular Subjects have come unto me. To which I add ſeveral excellent Letters of his when Ambaſſador in *France* to the Lord *Burghley*, and being Secretary of State to Sr. *Francis Walſingham*, Ambaſſador in the ſame Court, which are Printed in the *Compleat Ambaſſador*. And

Pa. 81.

a

a Bundle of other Letters writ to the Court, when he was Ambaſſador with the *French* King *Ann.*1562. the Earl of *Warwick* going then in the famous Expedition to *New-haven*, which are yet reſerved in the Kings Paper Houſe.

He was a great Judge of Learning, and Applications were often made to him for his Judgment in Matters of that Nature. So Dr. *Haddon* appealed once to him in a ſharp Controverſie, between the *French* Ambaſſador and himſelf, Whether *Tully* were a good Lawyer: Which that Ambaſſador had denied. And how learnedly this was decided by Sir *Thomas Smith*, may be ſeen in this Hiſtory. And both *Cecil*, and the ſaid *Haddon*, would not allow the Anſwer to *Oſorius* to come abroad, till it had paſt his accurate Peruſal and Correction. *A great Judge in Learning.*

His Acquaintance was with the Learned men of his Age. As *Ramus*, and other Profeſſors in *Paris*, while he was there: and with *Cheke*, *Cecil*, *Haddon*, *Wilſon*, *Aſcham*, men of the fineſt Wits, and pureſt Learning. Of this laſt, in a Letter to *Haddon* from *France*, he enquired diligently after, and complained that for two years, and Six Months, he had heard nothing from him; and then added merrily, That his Cocks (for he was a great Cock Maſter) *ita illum excantâſſe*, i.e. *had ſo enchanted him*, that he had quite forgotten his Friends. And I find the Correſpondence between him and *Aſcham* continued after, for in 1568. *Aſcham* requeſted of *Smith*, to borrow a Book of his own Writing. To which *Smith* anſwered *His Acquaintance.*

ſwered by a Letter, that he had ſent it to *Walden* to be Tranſcribed; leaſt the firſt Copy, and the whole Invention ſhould periſh together. And *Haddon* being lately dead, *Smith* in the ſame Letter told *Aſcham*, that his Epiſtles were found, but not all, and that his own Epiſtles to *Haddon*, were more uncertain. For they reckoned it pity any thing of that moſt Humane and Learned Friend of theirs ſhould be loſt. And ſo there was a purpoſe to collect together his Epiſtles, and to publiſh them. And ſo they were afterwards by *Hatcher* of *Cambridge*. This *Aſcham* about the Year 1568. ſent an Aſtronomical Figure to *Smith*, drawn by ſome ingenious Aſtronomer of the ſaid *Aſcham*'s Acquaintance. Upon which he ſent a *Latin* Letter from *Mountaut*, thanking *Aſcham* for it, and declaring how much he was pleaſed with it, and that he would willingly be acquainted with the Perſon that deſcribed it. He acknowledged he profeſſed himſelf this Study. And this Perſon ſeemed to him, to write Ingeniouſly and Learnedly; and not according to the vulgar manner of unlearned men, who abuſed themſelves, and the opinion of their Learning, for Gain. Whoſe Friendſhip he declared he deſired not, and whoſe Familiarity he was averſe to. And the Diagram and Figure that *Aſcham* ſent, he diſpatched back to him, with his own Judgment of the ſame, as it was put or placed. Sir *Thomas* Erected a Figure concerning the ſame Hour and Day, according to the *Ephemeris* of *Joh. Stadius*. Of which he ſaid the Diagram

Diagram ſeemed a little a differ, but the Judgment not ſo much. Thus we ſee his Correſpondence; and withal his Diſpoſition to that kind of Study, of Judicial Aſtrology.

The Vogue of his Learning.

And in fine, of the great Opinion that went of Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Learning, I ſhall mention this Paſſage. When Dr. *Wilſon*, one of his Learned Friends, Maſter of S. *Katharine*'s, and afterwards Secretary of State, had for News wrote to *Haddon*, then Ambaſſador at *Bruges*, of the Queens going to Viſit the Univerſity of *Oxford*, *Anno* 1565. and of the Report of the great Learning in that Place, and what learned Exerciſes were then expected to be performed there, before her Majeſty; *Haddon* anſwered, not to diſparage that Noble Univerſity, or the complete Scholars that were there, but to take the Opportunity of commending one or two other Egregious men, *viz.* That however magnificently it was talked of the learned men there, *Nec Smithi ibi ſimile quicquam, aut Checi occurret*, i.e. *there would be nothing like to* Smith *or* Cheke.

Beneficial to Learning.

And as he was Learned himſelf, ſo he was Beneficial to Learning; which appeared in that moſt uſeful Act of Parliament, which he procured for the Colleges of Students: Which was, that a third Part of the Rent upon Leaſes made by Colleges, ſhould be reſerved in Corn, the Tenant to pay it either in Kind or Money, after the rate of the beſt Prizes in *Oxford* or *Cambridge* Markets, the next Market days before *Michaelmas* or our *Lady day*. The great Benefit whereof Scholars do find

find to this day, and will ſo long as the Univerſities laſt. To his own College of *Queens*, he gave for ever 12—7—4. Being a Rent Charge out of the Manor of *Overſton* in *Northamptonſhire*. Which he appointed to be thus diſpoſed of, according as the Reverend Doctor *James* the preſent worthy Maſter of the ſame College was pleaſed to impart to me; that is to ſay, Four pounds for a Lecture in Arithmetick: Three pounds for a Lecture in Geometry: Four pounds, ſeven ſhillings, and four pence for two Scholarſhips: appointing his own Relations, or the Scholars from *Walden* School, *cæteris paribus*, to be made his Scholars before any others: And the Twenty ſhillings remaining for a Yearly Commemoration. And of *Eaton* College, where he was once Provoſt, *Cambden* tells us he merited well: but in what particular reſpects I cannot tell, except in making his College Leaſes always with a Reſerve of Rent-Corn, divers Years before it became an Act for the Benefit of other Colleges. And I find the Provoſt and College of S. *Mary* of *Eaton*, purchaſed of King *Edward* VI. in the firſt of his Reign, for the ſumm of 25—6—3. and in performance of King *Henry*'s laſt Will, and in conſideration of the Exchange of the Manor of *Milbourn Beck*, *Lutton* and *Ponyngton* in the County of *Dorſet*, and diver other Lands and Tenements; the Rectory of Great *Compton* in *Warwickſhire*, lately parcel of the Poſſeſſion of *Tho. Cromwel* Knight, Earl of *Eſſex*, Attainted of High Treaſon; the Rectory of *Bloxham* in the

the County of *Oxon*, lately parcel of the late Monaſtery of *Godſtow* in the ſaid County, and divers other Lands and Tenements in the Counties of *Oxford*, *Bedford*, *Lincoln*, *Warwick*, to the value of 82—11—0. The Patent bare date the 30. *Aug.* 1547. In which whether Sir *Tho. Smith* was any ways ſerviceable to the College I know not, but ſuppoſe he might be.

And this Learning of his raiſed him to Honour and Wealth. Under King *Edward* VI. he was made Provoſt of *Eaton*, where whether he were preſent or abſent, there was always a good Houſe kept: Dean of *Carlile*, and Maſter of Requeſts in the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Family, after *Cicil* had left that Place; wherein he was moſt unjuſtly ſcandaliz'd by his enemies, to have been a Bribetaker. For which he was fain to vindicate himſelf. He became alſo Steward of the Stannaries. Soon after his Abilities were ſo well known, that he was advanced to be one of the Principal Secretaries of State, and employed in great Commiſſions and matters of Truſt. Under Queen *Elizabeth* he was divers times Ambaſſador in *France*, and at laſt a Privy Councillor, Chancellor of the Garter, and Secretary of State. *His Places.*

His Wealth conſiſted in his Land and Houſes. He had the Manor of *Tarlington* in *Somerſetſhire*, worth 30 *l. per annum*, that he bought with the Money he had gotten at *Cambridge*, before he came into the Lord Protectors Service. And he purchaſed it at *His Wealth.*

300 *l.* or thereabouts, of the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, to whom it was given at the Coronation of Queen *Katharine* his Siſter. He purchaſed alſo the College of *Darby*, whether a Religious Houſe or a Fraternity, I do not well know. I find he had alſo theſe Houſes, to ſome of which were annexed Manors and large Demeans. One was in *Chanon Row* in *Weſtminſter*, which he once let out to the Comptroller of King *Edward*'s Houſehold, for 30 *s. per annum*, but afterwards Lived in it himſelf when Secretary, being a very fair Houſe; and there the Divines in the beginning of Q. *Elizabeth*'s Reign, together with himſelf, conferred about reforming of Religion. He had another Houſe in *Philpot-lane* in *London*, which was a large and fair Dwelling. The Title whereof being dubious, he had like to have loſt his Money, and Purchaſe too. But he procured his Maſter and Friend the Duke of *Somerſet*, to obtain from the King the Confirmation of his Title. The free dwelling in this Houſe, he gave to his younger Brother *George* a Merchant; to whom he was very kind, lending him alſo 300 *l.* for the carrying on of his Trade, without Intereſt or Conſideration. Sir *Thomas* had another Houſe in *Fleet-Lane*, with ſeveral other Tenements, which he held of the Clothworkers Company of *London*. And here he would ſometimes be, as a *Receſſe* from Court. In the Country he had *Ankerwick*, (his Country Retirement in King *Edward*'s Reign, once a Religious Houſe for Nuns) in *Buckinghamſhire*, very large and ſpacious,

His Houſes.

In Chanon Row.

In London.

Ankerwick.

ſpacious, with a Chappel. 'In Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, he frequented not this Houſe ſo much; then delighting more in *Mounthal* ſtanding high, as *Ankerwick* was low and Wateriſh: which I ſuppoſe he therefore avoided, thinking it not ſo wholeſome for him, being very ſubject to cold Rheums. In the Year 1569. he took an Account of the Furniture in each Chamber. Here he named his own Chamber, the Chamberlains Chamber, the great Gueſt Chamber, the Matted Chamber, the inner Chamber to the ſame on the South ſide, the north inner Chamber, his Fathers Chamber, My Lords Chamber, (by which Lord I ſuppoſe he meant the Duke of *Somerſet*) the high Gallery called *Coles* Chamber: the Hall, the Little Parlour, the great Parlour, the Chappel, the Wardrobe, the Lodge. By which Rooms one may gueſs at the largeneſs of the Houſe. And by the Furniture one may alſo conclude upon his Houſe-keeping. Where beſides abundance of Linnin, Beds and Houſehold-ſtuff, in his Wife's Cloſet there was a Plate-cheſt, containing theſe Pieces; A little Baſon and Ewer, two ſtanding *French* Bowls, with a Cover all Gilt, one Gilt Gallon Pot ſquare, two great Flaggons all Gilt, Three *Flemiſh* Bowls with their Cover parcel Gilt; Two Goblets all Gilt with their Covers; Three *French* Salts all Gilt with a Cover. A Baſon and Vaſt all Gilt. Three *French* Bowls all Gilt with a Cover. Twelve *French* Spoons with *Hyena's* Feet: Two drinking Pots of Silver, one all Gilt, the other

White. For the Furniture in the Chappel was a Cupboard or Altar of Walnut Tree, Veſtment and Albe for the Prieſt; a Bible, and a Pair of Virginals, inſtead of an Organ I ſuppoſe: The Plate and Furniture of his other Houſes, where he dwelt, was proportionable. For he kept four Houſes furniſhed, two in the City, (beſides his Lodgings at *Whitehal*) and two in the Country.

Mount-haut.

But the Houſe which he moſt delighted in, and was his laſt Retirement, was that at *Mount-haut*, or *Hilhal* in the County of *Eſſex*. Which was the Jointure of his Wife, made her upon her Marriage with Sir *John Hamden* Knight, her firſt Husband, the Reverſion whereof after her Death Sir *Thomas Smith*, purchaſed. Here, near the ancient Manor Houſe, he began a ſtately Structure, tho' he lived not to finiſh it. But he made careful Proviſion by his laſt Will, for the bringing it to a Concluſion. And that it might have the better Care taken of it, he Willed *Richard Kirby* his chief Architect 20 *l.* to be paid him as ſoon as the New houſe was Tiled, and all Carpentry Work done; and alſo to his Marriage, a Silver Salt, Twelve Silver Spoons, and one Silver Cup. And to *John Dighton* Steward of his Houſe, and Overſeer of the Works, to encourage him to take pains to ſee the Workmen do their Work as they ought, and ſee them paid weekly, 10 *l.* The Houſe ſtandeth upon a great Aſſent or Hill, whence it hath obtained its Name. Hence is taken a very fair and delightful Proſpect all ways, eſpecially

pecially South and West. Before the House, the Entrance to which is Northward, is a very pleasant Avenue, of a great Length, and suitable Bredth: Along which on each side are Rows of stately Elms, advancing their Heads to a great Heighth. And on the right hand, are two Ranges of Trees of the same kind, standing very near together, making a very close solitary Walk, fit for Study and Contemplation. Which they call the *New Walk*. And the Tradition goes they were planted by Sir *Thomas* himself, as it is most likely they were. This for the Scituation. The House it self is built Quadrangular, adorned with great Columns, imitating Stone, which look very gracefully. The square Court is paved with Free Stone. The Walls exceeding thick. Tho' there have been great alterations and Improvements made of this House, by the present Owner Sir *Edward Smith*, yet there be still some Remainders of Sir *Thomas* his Fancy. In the Dining Room above Stairs (so large that it is now parted into several Rooms) a Window Westward, gives the Emblems of Four of the Seven Deadly Sins painted in the Glass, with the Name of each Vice, set down under the Emblem in *Greek* and *Latin*; as Φθόνος under one Emblem, and Ἀκηδία under another, Γαστριμαργία under a Third, and Περηφανία under the Fourth: And under each the Name in *Latin*, as *Invidia*, *Socordia*, *Superbia*, and *Fornicatio*. The Emblem of Pride is the Story of *Lucifer* and his Angels cast down from Heaven. Round which Picture are lesser Em-

blems in ſmaller Pieces of Glaſs; which are obſcure now, the Paint fading. The ſmaller Emblems ſet about that of Fornication are theſe: The one is a Set of Fidlers, under a Ladies Window Serenading her, and a Woman naked appearing at the Window, throwing Water out of a Chamberpot upon their Heads. In another are repreſented two Perſons Duelling with Swords and Bucklers, fighting you may imagine for their Miſtreſs; and a man hanging upon a Gibbet, that muſt be preſumed to be executed for killing his Rival, the fatal End of that Vice. There be alſo writ in theſe painted Repreſentations proper Motto's for each. As under Pride, *God reſiſteth the Proud.* Under that of Sloth, *Go to the Ant thou ſluggard.* Theſe Painted Windows were done in 1569. The Rooms had much Paintings upon the Walls of them, being Hiſtories out of Scripture. Some whereof in one Room ſtill remain, and very plainly to be diſcovered, being the Hiſtory of *Senacherib*'s Army deſtroyed by the Angel: A very fine Piece: and the other Paintings there ſeem to be very good, And there is a Tradition in the Family, that ſome of theſe Paintings were done by Sir *Thomas*'s own Hand. And for the Convenience and Ornament of the Houſe, in the year 1568. (in which year, the ſhell of the Houſe was finiſhed) he planted an Orchard adjoining, to ſupply it with the choiceſt Fruits, eſpecially Pears and Apples, both Winter and Summer, which he procured from other Places. Whereof many of

Table x.

Apend. P. 130

		Shillings.	Groats.	Pence.	Halfpence.	Far
Uncia.	0ʒ	5	15	60	120	
Semuncia.	½ 0ʒ	2 6	7 2	30	60	
Sidrachma. Scaliquuum.	¼ ℈ 0ʒ	1 3	3 3	15	30	
Drachma.	⅛ half ℈ 0ʒ	0	1 30b	7 ob	15	
Sesquiscrupulus.	1/6 Unciæ	Half Drachma Sesquiscrupulus		3 ob℈	7℈	
Scrupulus. γραμμα.	1/24 Unciæ	The third part of a Drachme		1 ℈	2℈	
Obolus.	1/48	The half of a Scruple			1℈	
Siliqua.	1/144	The third part of Obolus			1q. prick	

-one p

Gallorum

Drachma vocatus a Gallis Grossus continet Denarios Gallicos 3 Sterlinos 2½

of his Pears he had from the Lord *Rich*, and of his Apples from *Walden*: and many of both Sorts came from *Ankerwick*. And, for the further Pleaſure and Service of the Houſe, there were many Fiſh Ponds, to the number of Ten or Dozen about it; which he took eſpecial care to ſtore with Carp and Tench.

This Seat now flouriſheth in Plenty, Reputation and Honour, poſſeſſed by the Line of his Younger Brother: Whereby Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Name and Memory ſtill Lives, according to his Deſign and Intent in that Structure. And tho' it wants nothing in the Inſide as well as the Out, to adorn and beautifie it, yet the choiceſt Furniture is an excellent Original of the Builder hanging up in the Parlour, with theſe two Verſes written round the frame of the Picture,

Cernitur Effigies factis vera, at Penicillus
Corporis atque umbræ tantum ſimulacra reponit.

And underneath *LOVE AND FEAR. Ætat. ſuæ* xxxiii.

Having no Child his Lady enjoyed this Manor of *Mounthaut* or *Mounthal* for her Life; and then it deſcended to his Brothers Son Sir *William Smith* Son of *George*, a brave Gentleman and Soldier in *Ireland*, being a Colonel there: Till having attained to Thirty Years of Age, he returned into *England*, and poſſeſt his Deceaſed Uncles Eſtate. He married into the Family of *Fleetwood* of the *Vache* in *Bucks*, and had divers Iſſue. And

His Son Sr. William Smith.

was of great Figure and Service in the County of *Essex*. All which may be better known by the Inscription upon a Noble Monument for himself, and his Lady set up on the South side of the Chancel opposite to that of Sir *Tho. Smith* his Uncle. Which was as follows;

To the pious Memory of her Loved and Loving Husband,

Sir William Smith *of* Hilhal *in the County of* Essex *Knight. Who till he was Thirty Years old followed the Wars in* Ireland, *with such Approbation, that he was chosen one of the Colonels of the Army. But his Uncle Sir* Thomas, *Chancellor of the Garter, and Principal Secretary of State to two Princes, King* Edward *VI. and the late* Queen Elizabeth *of famous Memory, dying, he returned to a full and fair Inheritance. And so bent himself to the Affairs of the Country, that he grew alike famous in the Arts of Peace as War. All Offices there, sorted with a man of his Quality, he right worshipfully performed, and dyed one of the Deputy Lieutenants of the Shire; A Place of no small Trust and Credit.*

Bridget *his unfortunate Widow, who during the time of Thirty Seven Years, bare him three Sons and four Daughters, Daughter of* Thomas Fleetwood *of the* Vache *in the County of* Bucks *Esquire, and sometime*

time Maſter of the Mint, to allay her Languor and Longing after ſo dear a Companion of her Life, rather to expreſs her Affection than his Office, this Monument erected, Deſtinating it to her ſelf, their Children and Poſterity. He lived Years Seventy Six, Died the 12. *of* Decemb. 1626.

CHAP. XVIII.

Sir Thomas Smith's *Vertuous Accompliſhments.*

WE have ſeen Sir *Thomas* in his Secular Circumſtances, as his Learning, Wealth and Honour, made him lookt upon and admired in the Eye of the World. But what doth all this Confer to the true Reputation of a man without inward vertuous Qualifications? Theſe were other and better things that added a Luſtre and Glory to our Knight. For his Learning was accompanied with Religion, and his Honour became more illuſtrious by the excellent Accompliſhments of his Mind.

His Religion.

He was brought up in the Profeſſion of the Goſpel from his tender years, and ever after ſtuck to it, and profeſſed it, and that openly: and as he had Occaſion, delivered and reſcued good men, from the Perſecutions and Dangers that Religion expoſed them to, tho' he thereby ſometimes ran himſelf into no ſmall hazzard.

hazzard. He loſt all his Preferments upon the Change of Religion under Queen *Mary*, when if he had been minded to have complyed, he might have had what he pleaſed. But he was of a ſtout and conſtant Mind.

His Principles by which he governed himſelf.

When he was in Place and Office abroad or in the Court, the Principles he governed himſelf by, were Truth and Integrity, an inviolable Love to Juſtice and righteous Dealing, a moſt unchangeable Faithfulneſs and Zeal to the Concerns of his Queen and Country. His Life and Manners were unreproveable; of a grave and yet obliging Behaviour. And ſometimes he would take the Liberty to be ingeniouſly merry and cheerful among his Friends. A perfect ſtranger he was to the Practices of ſome Courtiers, namely, to thoſe of Fraud and Falſehood, Flattery and Treachery, Vice and Corrupt Manners. Such a Deſcription do the Muſes in their *Tears* give him.

——————Non Fraude, Dolove,
Non ullo victus Fuco; Patriæque ſuiſque
Reginæque ſuæ fidus, non perfidus ulli,
At fidus cunctis, Cato *vitâ, moribus, ore,*
Sincerus ſine Fraude, bonus ſine ſuſpicione;
Nec levitate vacans, & ſic gravitate ſeverus,
Ut tamen atque jocos admitteret atque lepores
Innocuos, nihilumque prius ſibi duceret Æquo
Atque Bono, cui ſe ſuaque omnia vota ſacravit.

His Vertues.

And again, the ſame Muſes (ſhewing the Reaſons of his ſafety under the rigorous Times of Queen *Mary*, notwithſtanding he would not

not change nor diſſemble his Faith, nor comply with the Religion, that was uppermoſt) give us a Relation of his Vertues, which ſhone ſo bright, that with them he did as it were charm the Government to ſpare him.

Nec tamen interea parti aſſentarier ulli,
Nec ſimulare Fidem, nec diſſimulare ſolebat.
Mirifica Virtute omnes, Gravitate colenda,
Moribus antiquis, Charitum, Aonidumque Favore,
Numine cæleſti, non Impietate nec Arte
Illicita, nec Perfidia, neque Fraudibus ullis,
Vir bonus & ſapiens, qualem vix repperit altrum
Phœbus Apollo *unquam, ſibi conciliabat amicos.*

Vices falſely charged on him.

But as there is nothing ſo good but will find Accuſers and Slanderers, ſo it happened to him. For his Excellences created him Envy, and Enviers. And ſome there were in King *Edward*'s time, that laid ſeveral groſs Vices to his charge, but moſt unjuſtly: As tho' he were proud, a Lover of Money, and that for the ſake of it, he extorted and oppreſt; that he was a Buyer and Seller of Spiritual Preferments; and chopt and changed Lands. Finally, that in the Changes of Religion, he was a Complier. But theſe were all moſt falſe Calumniations: but ſuch as he was fain to write ſome Sheets of Paper, to vindicate himſelf of: whereby he was forced to ſet forth his own Vertues unwillingly.

His Spirit great.

His Spirit was brave and great, being a Man of a reſolute and Active Mind; Faithful and Diligent, when Ambaſſador and Secretary: Somewhat haſty and impatient, when public Matters went not as they ought, being hindred

dred by designing men for private Profit, or secret Grudge. And so I find him somewhere describiug himself, when Haughtiness was once laid to his Charge, "I cannot deny, but "I am of Nature hault of Courage and stomach, "to contemn all Perils, and worldly things, or "Dangers to do my Master Service, and likely "more would be, but that I am by such things "[he means Accusations and Slanders] some-"time plucked back; and so again contented "to rule my self: being able I thank God to "serve in the Body and Thilles (as Carters call "it) as well as in the Room of a Forehorse.

His Apparel. His Apparel was usually good, and like a Courtier. For which he thought some might accuse him of too much Prodigality. But it was more to suit the Office wherein he served, than any Pleasure he took in gaudy Garments.

Not Oppressive. He never sued any man, nor ever was sued. He never raised any Rents, but contented himself with the old ones; neither of any of his Lands or Promotions, viz. *Eaton* and *Carliste*: nor heightned any Fines, nor ever put out any Tenant, nor ever sued any of them. He was in a Place, namely that of Master of Requests, wherein he might have received many Bribes, if he would, for dispatching Sutes, and selling the Lord Protectors Letters; but he challenged all the World to charge him with one Peny, that he had taken dishonestly. Two indeed of his Servants did use sometimes to do so: but when it came to his knowledge, he put them away: Acquainting the Protector with it, and sueing to him to have one

one of their Ears nayled to the Pillory. And none Living remained under more Diſpeaſure with him, than they did, only for that Crime, and no other.

In fine, he was of an Univerſal Charity and good Will, and wiſhed well to all mankind, and a peaceable State to the World, as much as he wiſhed it to himſelf. And that for this end among others, that every man might Philoſophize freely, and with the greateſt Liberty ſtudy to promote Truth and uſeful Knowledge. And that all others might live quietly, and mind their own Buſineſs. *of an Univerſal Charity.*

He often ſpake ſharp and witty ſayings; whereby his Wiſdom, and great reach appeared. He called the Queens Ordnance *Peace-makers*. And once deſired her, that her *Peace-makers* might be tranſported to *Scotland*. Which when ſhe had demanded of him, Who they were, he anſwered, Her Majeſties Canon, adding, They muſt do it, and make a final Concluſion. *His Apophthegms.*

When a Matter was to be haſtened, he would ſay, *It is better to prevent, than to be prevented.* And, *The Time draws away, and Winds are changeable and Minds.*

Concerning Alchymiſts, of whom he had bought Experience, he would ſay, *Truſt little to the Words, and Promiſes, and Accounts of men of that Faculty. Fain they would be fingering of money; but when it is once in their hands, we muſt ſeek it in the Aſhes.*

The Maſſacres in *France*, he called Their *Beacons*. So he wrote to the Queen's Ambaſſador then

then at that Court, *Even the* Scots [otherwiſe great Friends of *France*] *be awakened by your Beacons in* France.

When *Walſingham* was tired in *France*, with expectation of coming home, which the Queen put off from time to time, *Smith* told him, *You are a wiſe man, and can comfort your ſelf, with Wiſdom and Patience.*

Speaking of the Irreſolutions and Inconſtancy of the Court, he ſaid, That *till the Queen had ſigned, he durſt never adventure to affirm any Thing, for fear of contrary Winds*; The which he ſaid was no News in that Court. And again, *Ye know how long we are here a reſolving, and how eaſie to be altered.*

Folly the more it is kept in, the better: Meaning it of Aſtrological Judgments.

Hæc eſt Viciſſitudo rerum Humanarum; Hæc eſt communis Caſus Hominum; ſpeaking of the *Vidame* of *Chartres*, a great Proteſtant Nobleman, eſcaping the Butchery of the *Paris* Maſſacre, but reduced thereby, to mere Poverty.

Video periculoſum eſſe in rebus arcanis Principum & Regnorum nimis velle ſapere. Upon occaſion of the Trouble of Mr. *John Hales*, for medling in the Succeſſion.

The beſt is, we ſtand I think upon our Guard; nor I truſt ſhall be taken and killed aſleep, as the Admiral was: Speaking of thoſe Times in *England*, upon apprehenſion of the Danger the Nation was in, from the Neighbouring Popiſh States and Kingdoms.

Happy is that Prince, that hath ſo wiſe a Counſellour, that can ſee that is beſt: but more happy

is

is he, that hath one ſo bold, that dares to tell it to him, and ſo beloved of him, that he will hear it.

Irreſolution and long Training, will make Opportunity, and Occaſion to fly away untaken, and a great Deal of Money to be loſt.

The Gentiles were wiſe in their Sacrifice, when the Prieſt cryed ever and anon, Hoc age. *For they that love always to be* aliud agentes, *either deceive themſelves, or other men.*

The Queen kept her Chriſtmas at *Hampton* Court 1572. From hence *Smith* Writes to his Friend about this Time, *If ye would know what we do here, We play at Tables, Dance and keep Chriſtmas.* A ſecret Laſh to the Court, for their Careleſneſs, at ſuch a dangerous Time as that was.

Speaking upon the Talk of Sir *Francis Walſingham*'s Return home from *France. When a Pin,* ſaid he, *is ſet faſt in a Hole, till we have another to thurſt that out, and tarry there it ſelf, it is hard to get it out.* And this he ſaid was his Caſe.

I have done, after I ſhall have recommended the Readers to the further Character and Account given to this Wiſe and Learned Man, by two Poets of thoſe Times. The one is *Leland*, deſcribing him while he flouriſht in the Univerſity, after this manner: Leland's *Copy of verſes to* Smith.

Doctorum celebras, Smithi, *Monumenta Virorum*
Ardenti ſtudio, & Dexteritate pari.
Unde tibi accrevit Virtutis nomine Fama,
Judice me, nullo deperit ura die.

Granta

Granta *venusta tuas collaudat, cantitat, ornat*
Eximias Dotes, Ingeniumque tuum.
Quicquid in Aoniis speciosum montibus olim,
Quicquid *in* Italicis *prænitet atque jugis,* (*das*
Est tibi tam notum quàm quod notissimum: Abun-
Artibus, & rara cognitione vales
Fontibus Eloquii sitientia labra rigasti:
Atticus *ille tuo regnat in ore Lepos.*
Instaurare bonas pergas feliciter artes:
Laudabit factum Posteritasque tuum.

Dr. Byng's *Epitaph on him.*

And the other was Dr. *Byng*, *Regius* Professor of the Civil Law in *Cambridge*; who when the first News of *Smith*'s Departure was brought thither, gave him this Epitaph;

Hic Sistas celerem gradum, Viator,
Magno Funera dum SMITHO parantur,
An mirare SMITHUM quod ipse MAGNUM
Dicam, quem Tumulus teget pusillus?
Et Magnum ingenio scias fuisse,
Et Magnum omnibus Artibus quæ habentur
Doctis in pretio, simulque Magna
Tractavisse Negotia, atque Curas
Magnas sustinuisse Maximorum
Regum quèis operam suam dicârat.
Sic Magnusque Domi, forisque Magnus,
Nunc Magno fruitur Poli Theatro.

THE *APPENDIX*

To the Foregoing

HISTORY

Of the LIFE of

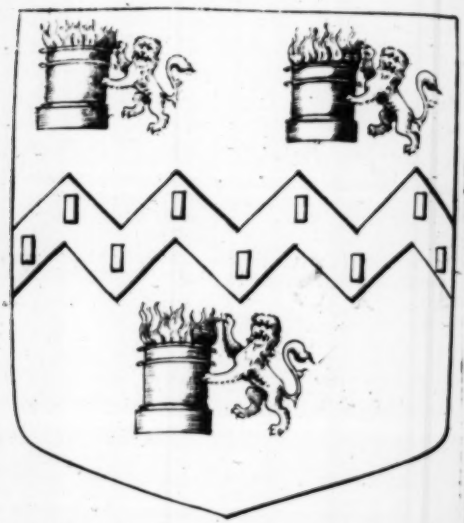
Sir *Thomas Smith*, Kt.

Number I.

The Patent granted by Garter *King at Armes to* John Smith *Gentleman, for his Coat of Armes.*

TO al and ſingular Perſons, theſe Preſente Letters hearing or ſeeing, *Chriſtopher Barker* Eſq; alias *Garter*, Principal King of Armes of Engliſh men, ſendeth due and humble Recommendations and Greting. *Ex Original. Pat. penes D. Ed. Smith.*

EQUITY willeth and *Reaſon* ordeineth, that men vertuoſe and of noble Courage be



by their Merits and good Renoume rewarded, and had in perpetual Memory for their good Name, and to be in all Places of Honour and Wurſhip among other noble Perſons accepted and reputed, by ſhewing of certain Enſignes of Vertue, Honour and Gentylnes: To the Entent that by their Enſample others ſhuld the more perſeverantly enforce themſelves to uſe their Tyme in honourable Wirkes, and vertuoſe Dedes, to purchaſe and get the Renoume of auncient Nobleſſe, not onely for themſelves, but alſo for ther Lynge and Poſteritie of theym deſcended, according to ther Demerits and valiaunt

liant Actions, to be taken furth and reputed among al Nobylls and Gentylls. And albeyt *John Smythe* of *Walden* in the Countie of *Eſſex* is deſcended of honeſt Lignage, and all his Aunceſtors and Predeceſſours hath long continued in Nobylite, and beryng Armes lawful and convenyent; Yet neverthelefs he beyng uncertayne thereof, and not willyng to do any [thing] prejudicial to no manner of Perſon, hath requyred and inſtantlie deſyred me the foreſaid *Garter*, to ratifie and confirme unto him, and alſo to Regiſter in my Recorde the true Armes and Blazon of his ſeyd Aunceſtours. And therefore I the foreſeyd *Garter*, by Vertue, Power and Authorite of myne Office, as Principal King of Armes granted, annexed and attributed by the King our Soveraign Lord, have appointed and confirmed unto the ſeyd *John Smythe* theſe Armes and Creſt with thappurtenances hereafter following, Viz. Sables, a Fece dauncye betwixt III Lyonceux Regardant, Argent, Langes Goules, Pawſing with their lyft Pawes upon an Awlter Gold, Flaming and Bourning thereon. Upon the Fece, IX Bellets of his Felde. Upon his Creſt an Eagle ryſing Sables, holding in his Right Cley a Pen Argent, Iſſuing therout Flames of Fyer, Set upon a Wreath Argent and Azure, Mantelles Goules, Lined Argent, Botoned Gold: To have and to hold to the ſame *John Smythe* and to his Poſteryte, with other due Difference therin

to be revested to his Honour for ever. In wytnes hereof I the forsayd *Garter*, Principal King of Armes as aboveseyd, hath signed these Presents with [mine] own Hand, and thereunto hath set the Seal of my Office; and also the Seal of mine Armes. Yeven at *London* the xii day of March, in the yere of our Lord God MVcXLV, and in the XXXV yere of the Reign of our Sovereign

dred by designing men for private Profit, or secret Grudge. And so I find him somewhere describiug himself, when Haughtiness was once laid to his Charge, "I cannot deny, but "I am of Nature hault of Courage and stomach, "to contemn all Perils, and worldly things, or "Dangers to do my Master Service, and likely "more would be, but that I am by such things "[he means Accusations and Slanders] some-"time plucked back; and so again contented "to rule my self: being able I thank God to "serve in the Body and Thilles (as Carters call "it) as well as in the Room of a Forehorse.

His Apparel. His Apparel was usually good, and like a Courtier. For which he thought some might accuse him of too much Prodigality. But it was more to suit the Office wherein he served, than any Pleasure he took in gaudy Garments.

Not Oppressive. He never sued any man, nor ever was sued. He never raised any Rents, but contented himself with the old ones; neither of any of his Lands or Promotions, viz. *Eaton* and *Carlisle*: nor heightned any Fines, nor ever put out any Tenant, nor ever sued any of them. He was in a Place, namely that of Master of Requests, wherein he might have received many Bribes, if he would, for dispatching Sutes, and selling the Lord Protectors Letters; but he challenged all the World to charge him with one Peny, that he had taken dishonestly. Two indeed of his Servants did use sometimes to do so: but when it came to his knowledge, he put them away: Acquainting the Protector with it, and sueing to him to have one

one of their Ears nayled to the Pillory. And none Living remained under more Diſpeaſure with him, than they did, only for that Crime, and no other.

In fine, he was of an Univerſal Charity and good Will, and wiſhed well to all mankind, and a peaceable State to the World, as much as he wiſhed it to himſelf. And that for this end among others, that every man might Philoſophize freely, and with the greateſt Liberty ſtudy to promote Truth and uſeful Knowledge. And that all others might live quietly, and mind their own Buſineſs. *of an Univerſal Charity.*

He often ſpake ſharp and witty ſayings; whereby his Wiſdom, and great reach appeared. He called the Queens Ordnance *Peace-makers.* And once deſired her, that her *Peace-makers* might be tranſported to *Scotland.* Which when ſhe had demanded of him, Who they were, he anſwered, Her Majeſties Canon, adding, They muſt do it, and make a final Concluſion. *His Apophthegms.*

When a Matter was to be haſtened, he would ſay, *It is better to prevent, than to be prevented.* And, *The Time draws away, and Winds are changeable and Minds.*

Concerning Alchymiſts, of whom he had bought Experience, he would ſay, *Truſt little to the Words, and Promiſes, and Accounts of men of that Faculty. Fain they would be fingering of money; but when it is once in their hands, we muſt ſeek it in the Aſhes.*

The Maſſacres in *France*, he called Their *Beacons.* So he wrote to the Queen's Ambaſſador then

then at that Court, *Even the* Scots [otherwise great Friends of *France*] *be awakened by your Beacons in* France.

When *Walsingham* was tired in *France*, with expectation of coming home, which the Queen put off from time to time, *Smith* told him, *You are a wise man, and can comfort your self, with Wisdom and Patience.*

Speaking of the Irresolutions and Inconstancy of the Court, he said, That *till the Queen had signed, he durst never adventure to affirm any Thing, for fear of contrary Winds*; The which he said was no News in that Court. And again, *Ye know how long we are here a resolving, and how easie to be altered.*

Folly the more it is kept in, the better: Meaning it of Astrological Judgments.

Hæc est Vicissitudo rerum Humanarum; Hæc est communis Casus Hominum; speaking of the *Vidame* of *Chartres*, a great Protestant Nobleman, escaping the Butchery of the *Paris* Massacre, but reduced thereby, to mere Poverty.

Video periculosum esse in rebus arcanis Principum & Regnorum nimis velle sapere. Upon occasion of the Trouble of Mr. *John Hales*, for medling in the Succession.

The best is, we stand I think upon our Guard; nor I trust shall be taken and killed asleep, as the Admiral was: Speaking of those Times in *England*, upon apprehension of the Danger the Nation was in, from the Neighbouring Popish States and Kingdoms.

Happy is that Prince, that hath so wise a Counsellour, that can see that is best: but more happy is

is he, that hath one ſo bold, that dares to tell it to him, and ſo beloved of him, that he will hear it.

Irreſolution and long Training, will make Opportunity, and Occaſion to fly away untaken, and a great Deal of Money to be loſt.

The Gentiles were wiſe in their Sacrifice, when the Prieſt cryed ever and anon, Hoc age. *For they that love always to be* aliud agentes, *either deceive themſelves, or other men.*

The Queen kept her Chriſtmas at *Hampton* Court 1572. From hence *Smith* Writes to his Friend about this Time, *If ye would know what we do here, We play at Tables, Dance and keep Chriſtmas.* A ſecret Laſh to the Court, for their Careleſneſs, at ſuch a dangerous Time as that was.

Speaking upon the Talk of Sir *Francis Walſingham*'s Return home from *France*. *When a Pin,* ſaid he, *is ſet faſt in a Hole, till we have another to thruſt that out, and tarry there it ſelf, it is hard to get it out.* And this he ſaid was his Caſe.

I have done, after I ſhall have recommended the Readers to the further Character and Account given to this Wiſe and Learned Man, by two Poets of thoſe Times. The one is *Leland*, deſcribing him while he flouriſht in the Univerſity, after this manner: Lelaud's *Copy of verſes to* Smith.

Doctorum celebras, Smithi, *Monumenta Virorum*
Ardenti ſtudio, & Dexteritate pari.
Unde tibi accrevit Virtutis nomine Fama,
Judice me, nullo deperit ura die.

Granta

Granta *venuſta tuas collaudat, cantitat, ornat*
Eximias Dotes, Ingeniumque tuum.
Quicquid in Aoniis ſpecioſum montibus olim,
Quicquid *in* Italicis *prænitet atque jugis,* (*das*
Eſt tibi tam notum quàm quod notiſſimum: Abun-
Artibus, & rara cognitione vales
Fontibus Eloquii ſitientia labra rigaſti:
Atticus *ille tuo regnat in ore Lepos.*
Inſtaurare bonas pergas feliciter artes:
Laudabit factum Poſteritaſque tuum.

Dr. Byng's *Epitaph on him.* And the other was Dr. *Byng*, *Regius* Profeſſor of the Civil Law in *Cambridge*; who when the firſt News of *Smith*'s Departure was brought thither, gave him this Epitaph;

Hic Siſtas celerem gradum, Viator,
Magno Funera dum SMITHO parantur,
An mirare SMITHUM quod ipſe MAGNUM
Dicam, quem Tumulus teget puſillus?
Et Magnum ingenio ſcias fuiſſe,
Et Magnum omnibus Artibus quæ habentur
Doctis in pretio, ſimulque Magna
Tractaviſſe Negotia, atque Curas
Magnas ſuſtinuiſſe Maximorum
Regum quibus operam ſuam dicârat.
Sic Magnuſque Domi, foriſque Magnus,
Nunc Magno fruitur Poli Theatro.

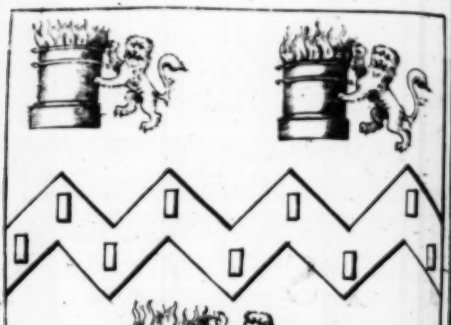
THE *APPENDIX* To the Foregoing HISTORY Of the LIFE of Sir *Thomas Smith*, Kt.

Number I.

The Patent granted by Garter *King at Armes to* John Smith *Gentleman, for his Coat of Armes.*

TO al and ſingular Perſons, theſe Preſente Letters hearing or ſeeing, *Chriſtopher Barker* Eſq; alias *Garter*, Principal King of Armes of Engliſh men, ſendeth due and humble Recommendations and Greting. *Ex Originali Pat. penes D. Ed. Smith.*

EQUITY willeth and *Reaſon* ordeineth, that men vertuoſe and of noble Courage be



by their Merits and good Renoume rewarded, and had in perpetual Memory for their good Name, and to be in all Places of Honour and Wurſhip among other noble Perſons accepted and reputed, by ſhewing of certain Enſignes of Vertue, Honour and Gentylnes: To the Entent that by their Enſample others ſhuld the more perſeverantly enforce themſelves to uſe their Tyme in honourable Wirkes, and vertuoſe Dedes, to purchaſe and get the Renoume of auncient Nobleſſe, not onely for themſelves, but alſo for ther Lynge and Poſteritie of theym deſcended, according to ther Demerits and valiaunt

liant Actions, to be taken furth and reputed among al Nobylls and Gentylls. And albeyt *John Smythe* of *Walden* in the Countie of *Eſſex* is deſcended of honeſt Lignage, and all his Aunceſtors and Predeceſſours hath long continued in Nobylite, and beryng Armes lawful and convenyent; Yet neverthelefs he beyng uncertayne thereof, and not willyng to do any [thing] prejudicial to no manner of Perſon, hath requyred and inſtantlie deſyred me the foreſaid *Garter*, to ratifie and confirme unto him, and alſo to Regiſter in my Recorde the true Armes and Blazon of his ſeyd Aunceſtours. And therefore I the foreſeyd *Garter*, by Vertue, Power and Authorite of myne Office, as Principal King of Armes granted, annexed and attributed by the King our Soveraign Lord, have appointed and confirmed unto the ſeyd *John Smythe* theſe Armes and Creſt with thappurtenances hereafter following, Viz. Sables, a Fece dauncye betwixt III Lyonceux Regardant, Argent, Langes Goules, Pawſing with their lyft Pawes upon an Awlter Gold, Flaming and Bourning thereon. Upon the Fece, IX Bellets of his Felde. Upon his Creſt an Eagle ryſing Sables, holding in his Right Cley a Pen Argent, Iſſuing therout Flames of Fyer, Set upon a Wreath Argent and Azure, Mantelles Goules, Lined Argent, Botoned Gold: To have and to hold to the ſame *John Smythe* and to his Poſteryte, with other due Difference therin

to be reveſted to his Honour for ever. In wytnes hereof I the foreſeyd *Garter*, Principal King of Armes as aboveſeyd, hath ſigned theſe Preſents with [mine] own Hand; and thereunto hath ſet the Seal of my Office; and alſo the Seal of mine Armes. Yeven at *London* the xii day of March, in the yere of our Lord God MV^{c}XLV, and in the XXXV yere of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King *Henry* VIII, by the Grace of God King of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defendour of the Faith, and in Erthe of the Church of *England* and *Ireland* Supreme Head.

Cb. *alias* Gartier.

Numb. II.

THIS CHART WILL
THIRD CHART APP
AT THE END OF TH

UMI

WILL BE THE
RT APPEARING
OF THIS FILM.

UMI

Num. III.

Sir Thomas Smith's *Orations for and againſt the Queens Marriage.*

I. Agamus *or* Wedſpite *his Oration for the Queens ſingle Life.*

ALTHO' I know (ſaith he) that I ſpeak now firſt at a great Diſadvantage, as to ſuch as have their Tongues at Wil, their Wits freſh, and be ſo good Confuters, as I have known them by experience in the Parliament Houſe, that whatſoever I ſhall ſay, they can with Words make, that it ſhall appear quite overthrown, and daſhed in pieces; Yet becauſe I my ſelf would gladly learn, whether I be in a right Opinion or no, and hear either my Opinion weakned, or thother ſtrengthned with good Reaſons, that I may by comparing thone with thother know my Error, which I could never yet do, I am content to ſpeak firſt. I pray you, that do note my Opinion ſo ſtrange, a while ſuſpend your Judgments of me, until you have heard al my Reaſons which moveth me to take this part. *E. MSS. D. Richar. Gibbs, Eq. Aurat. Et Rev. D. Johan. Laughton.*

Firſt I ſay, that in this Matter either we muſt have reſpect to God, to the Prince her Self, or to the Commonwealth; or rather to al theſe. For as for vain Talk of the

People, and the common Opinion of every Man in this our Diſputation, I think little regard to be had to them. For neither I ſpeak in Pulpit before all Raſcalls that cometh, nor I do reaſon with ſuch, as I muſt needs ſay as they ſay, or elſe hold my Peace: but with them who wil look to have no further Credit to be given to their Authority and Mind, than juſt Reaſon doth require. And therefore to Godwards yee muſt needs confes, that Virginity is above Matrimony which Chriſt himſelf being our Head, King and Maſter did follow. And St. *Paul* allowing both thone and thother, Marriage I mean, and the Sole Life, yet preferreth the ſole Life far aboveMatrimony. And I cannot ſee, that he maketh any Diſtinction or Difference, whether they be Men or Women, Young or Old, Princes or Subjects, Rulers or private Perſons: but as in Bondage or Freedom, whether it be of Men or Women, Young or Old, he prefereth Liberty, not excluding Bondage from the Goſpel: So doth he rather allow and exhort unto, and wiſh that Men would chuſe and take hold of Virginity and ſole Life, rather than Marriage, with ſuch *Elogium* as would ſeem ſlanderous, if it were not of his ſpeaking. *The Virgin*, ſaith he, *and ſingle Man have care how they ſhould pleaſe God.* The married Woman hath choſen infinite ways the worſe Perſon to be pleaſed, and the ſole Woman the better. Wherefore as I did ſay at the beginning, to define what is good and beſt for the Queen, if we ſhall try it by the beſt,

beſt, trueſt and more ſure Ballance, that is to Godwards, St. *Paul* ſeemeth to be with me: and the example of Chriſt himſelf, and his moſt happy Mother, St. *John Baptiſt*, and other the Heads of our Chriſtian Religion, who enſued that kind of Life as beſt and moſt acceptable to Godwards.

You ſee I do not bring you Hiſtories of certain Emperors and Empreſſes, Kings and Queens married, who notwithſtanding their Marriage, yet lived continently; leſt perhaps you ſhould doubt of the Truth of the Hiſtory: Or if the Hiſtory were true, yet of the Perfection and Sincerities of the Perſons: Or whether therin they pleaſed God, altho it liked them beſt. Nor yet I bring in that infinite number of Names of Virgins and Widdows, which at the very Beginning of Chriſts Religion profeſſed and kept Chaſtity, as a thing, whereby they thought moſt to pleaſe God, and made their choice of that as of the moſt godly Life: Leſt peradventure with the evil Example again of the Nonns, Monks and Friars of our Days, who likewiſe have as holily vowed, and yet ſo lewdly have and do keep the ſame, you ſhould have occaſion to derogate Faith from all the reſt, but ſincerely and plainly and of Principles moſt certain I have proved, that to God the beſt, moſt commendable and moſt allowable Life of theſe two, is to be ſole and chaſt.

It is hard, ye will ſay, in that Liberty, Eaſe and Plenty of all things, which Monarchy and Princely State doth bring, to keep moderation;

tion; and much more to keep Chaſtity. Mary, the harder the better, and as the Greek Proverb is, *That which is laudable is hard to attain*, Ye be al learned and know *Heſiods* Verſe; What is that that men may take up by Heaps, and eaſe me by? And how ſtreit and hard a Path is left to creep to Vertue? Wherefore when we ſpeak of the Goodneſs of a thing, or compare which of the Two is better, the Hardneſs is no Objection but rather a Proof of the Goodneſs thereof. And becauſe I am yet in that Part, which is to Godward, Why ſhall I go any further than Chriſts ſaying, who willed us to enter in at the ſtreight Gate, where few go in, and to leave the eaſy way, where there be many gon, and going before, which bringeth eternal Deſtruction? But I think this Part enough proved, till I hear the contrary of you.

The next that I promiſed you to take in hand was, that to the Prince her ſelf this is the beſt. Firſt, either all the Women in the World do wonderfully diſſemble, or, els bringing forth of Children (beſides the often Irkſomeneſs, Loathſomeneſs of Meats, Appetite of ſtrange Meats, Morfew, and other ſuch Troubles that they have al the Time from the Conception to the Childbirth) they be in ſuch Danger of Death as at no time Men be more. For we ſe by common Order, they are wont to take the Communion, to take their leave of the Church, and prepare themſelves even to it as Perſons that were neither Alive nor Dead, but betwixt both.

And

And al I am ſure do not diſſemble. For I pray you what number of Women every houre even in their Travail, or ſhortly after, be diſpatched, and ſent from their Childbed to their Burial? Not only poor Folks Wives, in whom Negligence or Poverty might have ſome excuſe, but Counteſſes, Dutcheſſes, Empreſſes and Queens. Farther Examples we need not ſeek than the Mother of our late K. *Edward*, Q. *Jane*, and of the Q. Dowager *Katharin Parr*. I can compare the danger of Childbed to nothing more aptly, than to a foughten Battail, ſave that there is this Difference, that in foughten Battails, the Prince by thold Examples, as one ſaith of *Pyrrhus*, provide for themſelves out of the Foreward and moſt Danger: But in this, whatſoever Eſtate they be, Queen or Empreſs, ſhe muſt fight with Death Hand to Hand. There is no Champion to ſtand betwixt, or to beſtride them, when they are down, or to take the Stroke into their Bodies to defend them, as hath been done before this by faithful Eſquires, to the ſafety of their Prince. And if the faithful Friends of *David*, after he was at one time by chance in great Hazzard in a certain foughten Battail, would not ſuffer him in Perſon to come no more into Battail, leſt peradventure (as they ſaid) the Light of *Iſrael* ſhould be quenched; How ſhould I think, that I ſhould have ſo much regard to the Queens Perſon as they had to *Davids*, if I ſhould not alſo wiſh and deſire, yea, and counſel too, that her Grace ſhould never enter into

that

that Danger and Battail, wherein she her self hand to hand, and without Aid, must Fight with Death himself a more perillous Fight than is any set Battail. And if her Majesty be fruitful (as there is no Cause to think the contrary) then if she escape one, she must within one year, or a little more, prepare for the next, and so still be within the Danger of that Extremity, which I do tremble to think upon. Wel may I think, as a great learned Man (altho merrily) writeth, that unless God had given a certain notable Quantity of Foolishness and Forgetfulness to al Women, after once they had assayed the Pains and Travails and Danger of Childbirth, they would never company with Men again. For altho Souldiers, who put their Life to sale for mony, do not fear to continue war and skirmishes, and will adventure at the Capitains Commandment hardily upon the Spear-point to win or loose; And altho some Warlike Princes, as *Alexander* and *Julius Cæsar*, thought themselves never so wel, as when they had sowen one War upon another, and were courageously in the Field themselves; yet can it not be denyed, but it had been more safty to their Persons to have lived quietly and justly at home with their own, and made Peace with their Neighbours. Nor tho they dyed at home amongst their Friends, thone by Surfeit, thother by Conspiracy; yet can it not be understanded by the common Intendment, but that they were in more Danger in the Battail: and so the Succes we must leave

to

to Deſtyny and Gods Judgments. What is by the common Courſe of Cauſes, thereof we may conclude, as far as natural Reaſon and Mans wiſdom will go.

Wherefore in my Mind, the Queens Highneſs Perſon, by courſe of Nature, being ſubject (as al Mortal Mens and Womens be) to Feavers, Plurifies, to Peſtilence, to the Sweat, and infinite other ſorts of Sickneſſes and Diſeaſes, which the Phyſicians can deſcribe, from the which whenſoever it pleaſeth God to ſend them (as I pray God long to keep her from them) no mans Power can reſcue her; methinks willingly and wittingly to bring in one other, which ſhall be as dangerous as any one, or al thoſe, it is not the part of him that profeſſeth a Care of her Highneſs Perſon.

Hitherto I have ſpoken of her Perſon, but as touching the Body (nevertheles by her *Perſon* I mean all ſuch Things as touch her privatly: and altho it is now hard to make a ſeparation of this, but that which toucheth her Perſon ſhould alſo touch al the whole Realm; yet becauſe I ſpeak amongſt you, whom I know to be both Learned and Wiſe, ye will I dare ſay take what I mean by the Order of my Talk) Let us grant that her Majeſty doth Marry, if he be a Subject, then ſhe ſhould ſeem to diſparage her ſelf. For what ſhall ſhe do other than that which is found fault with in certain Dutcheſſes and Counteſſes, which have married with thoſe which were their Servants. If ſhe marry a Stranger, then muſt he

he needs by Gods Laws be her Head, and where ſhe was higheſt before, now ſhe hath made one higher than her ſelf. If ſhe ſtudy to pleaſe him, then is ſhe in Subjection of him: If ſhe mind not to pleaſe him, why ſhould ſhe then marry him? And this is the beſt. But if there ſhould ariſe any Diſſenſion betwixt her Majeſty and her Husband, and Part-takings who ſhould rule, as there hath been ere this in other Countreys; what a Miſery ſhall her Majeſty bring her ſelf unto from ſo great a Felicity? To what a Diſquietnes from ſo great a Quietneſs? Now al dependeth upon her only Wil and Pleaſure. She only commandeth, and it is done. She ſaith the Word, and every one obeyeth. Then is no Grace to be looked for, but at her Husbands hands only. Then there ſhall be two to ſue unto, tho not equal, yet ſuch as each of other would not like well to have a Nay. So that their Requeſts one of another ſhall be as it were Commandments of thone to thother. So that if the good and loving Wife loth to diſpleaſe her Husband, and the loving Husband his Wife. when one of them ſhall ask and require of the other that which thother would not gladly do, if it be not done, who is diſpleaſed, ye perceive; And if it be done, who is aggrieved ye ſe. And ſo much the more as thone deſireth in his or her mind to have it don, thother in his or her mind, that it ſhould not be done; ſo much the more Grief the Granting doth bring to thone, and ſo much more Hatred and Diſpleaſure

ſure the Denying doth bring unto thother.

As for Example ſake, if K. *Philip* deſired moſt earneſtly we ſhould make War with the *Frenchmen*, and Q. *Mary* deſired no leſs to live in Quiet, and to have Peace with them, (the Husband and the Wife in moſt contrary Appetites) the Granting extremely grieved thone, the Denyal ſhould as extremely have offended thother. Of the Event what followed we know. But ye wil ſay, this was when a Foreign Prince did marry the Queen, who having War of his own with the *Frenchmen*, muſt needs deſire his Wifes Country for Loves-ſake to joyn with him. And this Realm having Wounds enough at home, had good Cauſe to miſlike War abroad. But if her Grace marry one of her own here at home, there ſhall be no ſuch Occaſion, you wil ſay, but their Minds ſhall be al one; whom thone loveth thother loveth alſo, and whom the one miſliketh, ſo wil thother alſo. This is wholly aſſured, if it were always ſo; but ſeeing never Man was always in one Mind himſelf continually, nor yet Woman, but that which at one time we love, another time we hate; what we like being Children, we miſlike being Men and Women, and much more when we be old; How can we think, that any Man or Woman may be always of one Opinion, Mind, Judgment or Deſire with another, where he is not ſo with himſelf?

Conveniet nulli, qui ſecum diſſidet ipſe,

ſaith the old Verſe. And what Miſchiefs thoſe

those Breaks may bring, we have too many Examples both amongst the *Græcians*, *Romans* and *Barbarians*.

And first, I will begin with the *Goths*, when they were Lords over *Rome* and *Italy*, *Amula Suinta*, or as some do write her *Amala Suenta*, the Daughter of K. *Theodoricus*, King of *Rome* and al *Italy*, and so rightfully Heir of that Kingdom, to govern the Realm the better, took to her Husband *Theodotus*, a Nobleman of the *Goths*; who belike afterwards dissenting with her in Opinion of Matters of the State, first found the means to exile her into a little Island in a Lake besides *Vossinana* in *Italy*, and afterwards there caused her to be most cruelly slain. *Philippe* Vicecount of *Milain* being at a very low Ebb, by Marriage of *Beatrice* wife to *Fantino Cane*, had the Lordships and Seignories of *Vercelli*, *Alexandria*, *Navarra*, *Cortana*, four goodly Cities, & a great number of Riches. Thereby he recover'd again the State of *Milain* and *Lumbardy*, which was before lost. This man to recompence her Kindnes, and al these Benefits, within a short while after caused her to be convicted of Adultery and cruelly to be put to death. *Jane* the 2d. Queen of *Naples* did otherwise. She took to Husband *Jaques* Countie *de la Nardy*, of the *French* Kings Blood: with whom she indented, that he should be contented to be called Prince *Tarento*, and to leave to her not only the Name, but also the Government of the Kingdom of *Naples*. This liked not he, or els his Counsillors, and so removed

ved her from Adminiſtration, and kept her almoſt as a Priſoner. She, like a wiſe Woman, feigned to rejoyce thereat, and to bear it well until ſuch time, as ſhe had compaſſed all her Device, and ſhut him clean out of *Naples*. For which Cauſe, altho' he made War, yet was he fain, at the laſt, (willed he, nilled he) to live as a Man baniſhed out of that Realm.

I have read of many, being Sole Inheritors and Princeſſes of many Countrys, which after took unto them Husbands, who had no better ſucceſs, tho' not all ſo evil. Even in our days, Q. *Mary* took K. *Philip* to her Husband, a Noble Prince, Wiſe, Diſcreet and Fortunate. Yet many Men think, that thereby ſhe loſt the Hearts of the moſt number of her Subjects. And it is too manifeſt, that immediately upon it, in a very ſhort ſpace, an incredible number of her Subjects were, by order of ſuch Law and Juſtice as was uſed in thoſe Days, moſt cruelly put to Death. And God for his part, whether offended that ſhe ſo living Sole, and as may be thought a Virgin, did ſo ſuddenly chooſe to marry, or rather that ſhe finding the Light of the Goſpel abroad in her Realm, did what ſhe could to Extinguiſh it and put it out, did ſo puniſh the Realm with Quartan Agues, and other ſuch long and new Sickneſſes, that in the two laſt years of her Reign, ſo many of her Subjects were made away, what with the Exe-

cution of the Sword and Fire, and what by Sickneſſes, that the third Part of the Men in *England* was conſumed. Ye ſee I do paſs over theſe things lightly, and do not Amplify them as Orators would. But I would have every Piece rather to be weighed of you deeper, than that you ſhould think that I ſhould with words overlade the Matter.

I come to the Third, that is, what is beſt for the Realm, and her Subjects. And ſurely, in this matter, methinks, for many Reaſons, it is beſt as it is now. And here I will not over-ſlip this Advantage: I pray you what Fault is there to be found with the Governance now? Wherein do we lack, or want an Husband for the Queen? Compare both Q. *Maries* Time married, and the Q. Highneſſes Time that now is, unmarryed. Then was Burning and Hanging at Home, Wars and Loſing of Strong Holds Abroad: Moſt Men diſcontent, except a few of her Sect: with Subſidies and Loans, Sickneſſes and Promooters, as well th'one as th'other throughly vexed. War we ſaw and felt, and other Miſchief was feared: which, whether it was to come, or no, few know. Now, for War we have Peace; for Fear, Security. So, tho' even the Papiſts, altho' otherwiſe they loſt for their Stiffneſs, yet they be more ſure of their Lives now, by the Clemency of the Time, than they were then by the importune Favour of the Prince. For Scarcity we have reaſonable Plenty: for

for Braſs-Mony, good Silver: For Servitude, Liberty. What can a Common-wealth deſire more, than Peace, Liberty, Quietneſs, little taking of baſe Mony, few Parliaments, their Coin amended, Friendſhip with their Neighbours, War with no Man; either to follow the Goſpel, or Security of Life, if they will be Papiſts? Except, peradventure, we ſhould ſeem to do as *Æſop*'s Frogs did, which, not content with the King which *Jupiter* gave them, knowing them to need none, were weary of their Liberty, and would not reſt till they had alſo the *Stork* and *Hearn* for their Kings. From whom now, with all their Cryes theſe many Thouſand years, they cannot be delivered.

Well, yet for the Wars, and ſuch Martial Feats, it is moſt convenient to have a Man, who ſhould Govern abroad, take upon him the Spear and Shield, be there in Preſence himſelf; which is marvellous Encouragement to the Souldier, to Fight in the Sight of the Prince, where he thinks his Reward ſhall be according to his Deſerts. And, as a great Warrior ſaid, I had rather have an Army of *Harts*, their General being a *Lyon*, than an Army of *Lyons*, their General being an *Hart*. Firſt, I do not ſee that every Prince maketh his War himſelf there in Preſence, nor that every one of them is that *Lyon* which they ſpeak of. And if it be in a Country where Peace may be had, and the Realm ſo well

Walled in as ours is by the Sea, I cannot perceive but a good Prince may do more good in well-ordering this Commonwealth at Home, than seeking more Conquests Abroad. The *Romans* doubted whether *Numa* did less good to *Rome*, with keeping it in Peace forty years, than *Romulus* the first Founder did, with maintaining so many VVars and Conquests. And *Augustus* was rather a Father of the Country, when the Civil VVars ended, when he kept Peace with all Nations, and Govern'd well the Empire, than he himself was in his Proscriptions, being *Triumvir*, or in his Civil VVars against *Antonius*; and did then more good to *Rome*, in shutting of *Janus* his Temple; than did *Julius Cæsar* in his VVars against the old *Pompey*, yea, or else in his long Wars against *France*.

And have not Queens been Warriors? What was *Semiramis*, and *Zenobia*, *Maud* the Empress, and the late Queen *Margaret*? *Amula Suenta*, that we spake of before, was reported to be the VVarrior in the Victory which her unkind Husband *Theodotus* got over *Theobertus* King of *Mettes*, and the *Burgundians* and *Almains*. For her VVisdom, not their Manliness did it; as appears by his vile Cowardliness after her Death. But if Queens make Peace, and keep the Realm flourishing in good Order and Quiet, and overcome their own and their Undergovernors Affections, of Robbing and Oppressing

preſſing the poor Subjects, they make a Greater and more Commendable Conqueſt than ever *Sylla*, or *Marius*, *Pompeius* or *Cæſar* did, yea, or *Carolus* the laſt Emperor of *Rome*, in taking the *French* King, or winning *Tunis* and *Goleta*. And if VVars ſhould happen to come, why may not the Queen make and maintain her Wars as well by a General of her appointing, ſought out by her Wiſdom, as all other Princes commonly do? And *Plutarchus* doth well note, that *Auguſtus* himſelf had ſmall advantage in all Wars, wherein he had the Conduct himſelf, as himſelf alſo was in great danger: but thoſe which he did manage by Legats and Generals, all did proſper well and fortunately with him.

But of Wars we have ſpoken enough: wherein it is no more need that the Prince ſhould be in Preſence, than it is that all the Senate of *Venice* now, or the Senate of *Rome* in times paſt ſhould always have been in Preſence and Perſon in their Wars. For it is their Wit and Policy, their Fore-ſeeing and VViſdom, as well in maintaining of the War, as in chuſing of their Captain, that obtaineth the Victory. And I pray you, did not th'one Conquer as much, and doth not th'other keep as well their Conqueſt, as ever *Alexander* and his Succeſſors did? Then it may appear it is not the Preſence, but the Wiſdom of the Prince, the Manly Look, but the Sober Diſcretion; the Beard, but

the Chearful Heart that bringeth the Victory, and keepeth the Land conquested. And this, I say, may as well be in a Queen as in a King, in a Wise and Discreet Lady unmarried, as in any Husband she shall take unto her.

One thing must I needs say; if it be chargeable for a Realm to maintain one Prince or King, it must needs be more chargeable for a Realm to maintain two. If they cry out of the Takers for the taking for one House or Train, for two they shall have more cause. And do you think that whensoever the Queens Majesty shall take an Husband, the Court can be unaugmented? I am sure Reason, Order and Experience sheweth the contrary. Well, if the greater Train bring the more Expences, the more Officers do require the more Charge; the greater Family doth consume the larger Provision of Victuals. And if the Realm, as Reason it is, must bear all these, and yet all things done as well now as it shall be then, I cannot but conclude, even of Husbanding, but as good Husbands do, that the Affairs of the Realm being as well done th'one way as th'other, the best cheap must appear the best way. Which is as ye see, that the Queens Majesty should remain as she doth now still Sole, and unmarried, neither intangle her self with a Husband, either strange, or born in the Realm.

I

I have now paſſed over my three Parts, not ſo fully as one of you would do, who have their Tongues and Wits ſo ready, ſo fine and ſo eloquent. But after my rude and homely manner, I have declared unto you, that ſimple, ſole Life and Virginity doth pleaſe God better, and is better eſteemed, and an higher Vertue than Marriage. And as it is more Heroical, ſo more comely for a Queen, which is a Monarch, and a Soveraign Prince born. I have alſo proved, that for her Perſon, it is moſt ſure, and leſs dangerous, for her Mind more quiet and leſs doubtful; and laſtly, you ſee I lack no Reaſons to ſhew, that it is better and more commodious for the Realm, Why then ſhould this Opinion be counted either wicked, or ſtrange, or unreaſonable?

And with this he held his Peace, and none of the other were haſty to anſwer. Whether it were, becauſe they did Meditate and Record with themſelves what he had ſaid, or what and how they ſhould confute him or no, I know not; but, I perceive, that they looked not for ſuch an Oration. At the laſt the Fourth brake Silence; who, ſave that he would gladly have the Queens Majeſty marry, for the reſt he was indifferent. And he (as you know, if I ſhould tell you his Name, hath not his Tongue ready, for he ſtuttereth, ſtammereth, and if he be

moved, uneth he can bring forth a right Word. And commonly thoſe Men be of the greateſt Heart and Courage, and teſty with it, as the *Greeks* call them. It appeared that he was moved with this Oration; For with much ado he brought out his Words. The effect whereof was this. Mary, quoth he, this is a Tale indeed, and Arguments well picked out. You may well be called Mr. *Agamus*, or *Miſogamos*, Surnamed in right Engliſh, *Wedſpite*, or *Spitewed*. For I never heard Man ſpeak ſo deſpitefully againſt Wedding and Marriage of the Queens Majeſty in my Life. I think you be one of St. *Frauncis*, or St. *Benets* Scholars. I would to God my Tongue would ſerve me but half ſo well as yours, I would ask no help to anſwer you. But now, ſeeing my Tongue will not follow, I ſhall deſire theſe Two to take my part: Who, altho' within themſelves, they be not of one Opinion, yet with me, againſt you, they agree. And ſeeing they can do it well enough, my Stuttering and Srammering ſhould be but ſuperfluous.

Then (quod the one of the other) if you be ſo ready to Chriſten and Name the Child, belike as ſoon as I have told the Tale, you will be my Godfather, and give me a Name. Nay, faith he, I can Name you already. For you love Aliens and Strangers ſo well, and praiſe ſo well all Countrys and Countrymen, ſave *England* and

and *Engliſhmen*, that 'tis pity you were not born ſomewhere elſe. And I think you be, or ſhould be ſome *Welchman*, and Named *Lewelyn*, as one would ſay, *Lovealien*, or in *Greek*, Φιλόξενος. Well, ſaid he, and laughed, you do not well thus to Nick-name, and Provoke me to be angry with you, when you pray me for to ſpeak for you. It is happy your Tongue ſerveth you no better, and that God hath ſent a ſhrewd Cow ſhort Horns. None of us ſhould eſcape you, if your Tongue were as good as your Heart; But yet I would it would have ſerved you now; it ſhould have eaſed me well in confuting his Tale, whom you have now Chriſtned Mr. *Agamus*, or *Wedſpite*. Which Tale was after ſuch a ſort (I muſt confeſs unto you) as I looked not for. But yet I truſt it may be anſwer'd, and thereto if you give me a while patient Ears, I will endeavour my ſelf with a good Will.

I. Philoxenus,

II. Philoxenus, *or* Love alien, *his Oration for the Queens Marrying.*

IT ſhall not be amiſs to begin, ſaith he, now Mr. *Agamus*, (for it is like to be your Name at this Time) where you began: Which, as methought was pretty and Philoſophical Yet muſt I repeat the Matter ſomewhat higher. Two things being appointed to be had in Election, if the one be honeſt, th'other diſhoneſt, the Election is eaſy to him that preferreth Vertue and Honeſty to all other things, altho' the Diſhoneſt be more profitable, or more pleaſant ten thouſand fold. For always that which is honeſt and godly is to be taken. And yet poſſibly this Election would not be ſo taken of every Man; as hath appeared in them that have made War to their Country, Proſcription of their Citizens, and have exerciſed a thouſand Tyrannies, for Ambition, Profit, or Pleaſures-ſake, preferring the Diſhoneſt things, becauſe they were profitable or pleaſant, before Honeſty. But where the Things propounded be both equal, for that Part there the Election ſtandeth in their Degrees; as if Things of themſelves may be Honeſt and Godly, and the Contraries thereof may alſo ſo be;

and

and the one and the other may be uſed; there the Circumſtances do alter the Matter: As Peace and War, Puniſhment and Forgiveneſs, Eating and Abſtinence, Marriage and Sole Life, both not only permitted, but allowed of God. And according to the Circumſtance of Time, and Place, Perſon and Occaſion, ſometime th'one better, ſometime th'other. And herein I think we do not vary. Altho' you ſeem in your Tale to make them both Vertues, I mean Virginity and Marriage. Which, I think, you did, after the common manner of Speaking, rather than the true manner of Underſtanding. For a right Vertue cannot be abuſed: Either of theſe may be abuſed, and encreaſe Damnation. But as things indifferent, Eating and Drinking, Reaſoning and Diſputing, Ruling and Obeying, Sleeping and Waking, Earneſt and Play; ſo theſe take of their Circumſtances, as I ſaid before, of Place, Time and Perſon, Cauſe, Occaſion or Neceſſity, to make them good or bad.

Wherefore this is not ſo ſimply to be granted unto you, that Sole Life is the better; No, tho' it be the harder; but according as the Circumſtances be. Who, that ſhould begin, being a private Perſon, to bring in a new Sect or Religion to reform all the State and Order of that which hath been taught before, not with Power but Perſwaſion; not with Sword, but with Miracle;

Miracle; not with Violence, but with Patience; not with War, but with Fleeing, when he is perſecuted from one place to another; To him it is neceſſary, and to all them that ſhall follow that kind of Policy, to be disburthened of Care for his Wife, of Charge for his Children, of the Negligence of Servants, of harkening to Accounts, of Saving of his Stock, and of all ſuch Things as Marriage neceſſarily doth bring to the private or publick Perſon, whoſoever he be that is not altogether without that Affection which is moſt natural; the which they that lack are called Ἀστοργοι. Then to Chriſt, then to St. *Paul*, then to all them, who at the firſt Time, as it were the Sowing Time of Chriſtian Religion, were the Till-men of the Goſpel; ye ſee it was moſt neceſſary, yea, in a manner, it could not well otherwiſe be done, but that they ſhould be Sole and unmarried. That which was in their Perſons, and at that time beſt, whether it be now, and in the Queens Perſon beſt, may juſtly be a great Doubt. I cannot ſee but that *Abraham*, having the Seed promiſed him, wherein all Nations ſhould be bleſſed, was as Holy in knowing *Sarah*, as *Elias*, who was raviſhed into Heaven in his Virginity, if no other Difference were but that; Nor why *Manue*, [*Manoah*] to whom *Sampſon* was promiſed, who ſhould be the Deliverer of *Iſrael*, did not as well therein, as *Elizæus* in keeping himſelf Sole, who

who the Prophet ſaid ſhould ſlay all them that *Jehu* left.

Now let th'one be ſimply better than th'other, Virginity than Mariage: which it ſeemeth can hardly be gathered of St. *Paul*: for he praiſeth Virginity as better, not for it ſelf, nor in its ſelf, but for having leſs Lett and Trouble than hath Marriage: So that if a Marriage have leſs Let and Trouble, the Virginity more, then he preferreth Mariage. Wherein it may appear, that it is not (as I ſaid) ſo better, as Vertue is better than Vice, nor as Gold than Silver, nor ſcarcely as the Fine than the Baſe; But let it be as both in one kind of Nature, but the one as fine Gold, the more to be eſteemed, th'other as baſe, the leſs: Yet where the Baſer weigheth Ten pound, and the Finer but one Ounce, there muſt needs the Baſe in kind be better indeed; the Courſer in Nature of ſuch things be more excellent in Uſe and Neceſſity. Peradventure to a Student, a Prieſt, a Man of War, and a Merchant-Adventurer, the firſt were beſt; becauſe Care of Houſhold and Family ſhould happily much diſturb them of their Studies; the other, becauſe they are always in danger and abſent from home, it were beſt for them to live a Sole Life. But, for a Prince, upon whoſe quiet Succeſſion a great part of the Common-wealth doth hang: whoſe Family is the Root and Foundation of inward Peace within the Realm; to live Sole,

Sole, is to be an Author of ſuch Miſchief, as no Man can wiſh to a Realm a greater. And who would ſay then, That to a Prince it is ſimply better to live Sole, than to marry. To kill the Prince, who is the King's Eldeſt Son, is worthily made High-Treaſon; What is it then, not to kill one but all; yea, and not that, but the Hope of all?

And you, Mr. *Agamus*, open your Lips to praiſe Virginity, or Sole Life in our Queen; whoſe Daughter, much more Son, or a Prince, if God ſhould ſend one, as I truſt God, (if it ſhall pleaſe her Highneſs to marry) ſhortly would ſend a Prince, if you ſhould once wiſh dead, all Men might juſtly abhor you to the Death. VVhat could you wiſh more, if *Domitian* or *Nero*, if *Maximine*, or *C. Caligula* did Reign over us, than that which the Soldiers did ſay, when they ſlew their Children, *Ex malo genere ne catulum quidem relinquendum.* And becauſe you come with what is good to God-ward, and you take your ſure Rule, *that which pleaſeth God is beſt*, I pray you, what is the Promiſe that he maketh to *David*? *If thy Sons walk before me*, ſaith he, *in truth with all their hearts, thou ſhalt not want one, who ſhall come out of thy Loins, to ſit upon the Throne of Iſrael.* And to *Jehu*, for the zelous Revenge of *Ahab*'s Iniquity, that his Sons ſhould ſit upon the Throne of *Iſrael*, to the fourth Generation. Again, What threatneth he to *Saul* for his Rebellion, other

other, than that the Kingdom ſhould be tranſlated from him, and his Sons ſhould not Reign after him? To *Jeroboam*, to *Baaſa* and *Achab*, for their Idolatry and Wickedneſs, but that he would not leave of their Poſterity one to piſs againſt the Wall? So that it may appear a Bleſſing of God, a token of Faith in God, and good Favour of God towards Princes, when he ſendeth them of their own Seed to Reign after them. As the Contrary, of Diſfavour, and Diſcontentment of God toward them, when he cutteth off their Generation, and leaveth them without Poſterity and Iſſue of their Bodies to Reign after them. Then, if it be a Bleſſing to Princes to have Children to Inherit after them, which ſheweth the Favour of God, it is a Curſe to have no Poſterity, or the Poſterity cut off, which ſheweth the Diſfavour of God, as appeareth moſt manifeſtly by theſe Examples of Scripture: And Sole Life bringeth the Curſe, and want of Poſterity, and no other thing can bring the Bleſſing of lawful Children but Matrimony. Why then may not I conclude by this judgment of Scripture, that Matrimony in a Prince is that Good to be allowed, and that Sole Life is that Evil to be eſchewed?

And what hath the Queens Majeſty deſerved at your hands, I pray you, that you had rather ſhe had the Curſe which fell upon *Saul*, *Hieroboam*, *Baaza* and *Achab*, than the Bleſſing which *David* had and *Abraham*?

Now

Now the Second Part, Mr. *Agamus*, was ſo well handled, and ſo finely you entred into your Matter, and ſo well you ſhadowed it with your Hiſtories and Examples of ſuch things as have been done before; that I aſſure you, if I had not taken a good Triacle before, and tyed my ſelf to my Maſt, as *Ulyſſes* did to paſs by *Syrenes*, I had been caught, as a Fiſh, with a Hook, and ye had led me by the Ears whether you had would. Now marking it well, and not ſwallowing up the Bait, I am able to unwind my ſelf that ſame way I was brought in. You put us firſt into a great Fear of the Queens Majeſties Perſon. Of which, what good. *Engliſh* Heart is there, which will not have Care? Then ye amplified great Dangers and Diſquietneſs, Exaggerated great Cares, Thoughts and Griefs of her Highneſs Mind. From all which, as well of Body and Soul, you found but one onely Refuge, and as it were a Sanctuary, of Virginity and Sole-Life, as my Friend here, my Godfather ſaith. This Fancy came out of the School of Monkery; who, when they did ſee the Dangers and infinite Occaſions of Pleaſure, Diſpleaſure, Honour, Ambition, Contempt, Riches, Poverty, and all other ſuch things as did vex them, when they remained abroad, and in the Common-wealth, which was able to bring them from the true trade of Vertue, and to bring them unto Vice; and peradventure had once or twice done

don ſo already; wherby they knew themſelves the better of what Mettal they were made: And then ſaw nothing of Monks and Friars but their Holy Coat, their Becks and their Ducks, and their Religious Words; they thought that there was none other way to Heaven, but to run into their Cloiſters: Where they thought they were ſo ſure, and the Gates ſo well kept, that there could no Vice get in And when they were there as faſt locked in as th'other, they found themſelves ſo well eaſed, as the Fiſh that leapt out of the Frying-Pan into the Burning Coals: Or as they that be Seaſick, when they come out of the Great Ship into the little Cock-Boat, I wis their Choler goeth with them, and till they come a-land, they find ſmall eaſe in the Chaunge.

Ye make a Mervaillous Matter of Danger in Womens Bearing of Children, which ye exaggerated ſo much, that when I heard, I began to tremble with my ſelf; as to take their leave of the Church, to prepare for preſent Death, to fight hand to hand with Death without a Cuſtrel, or any Eſquire, to be in more danger than in a Foughten Field, where Trumpets blow, the Clarions ſound, the Guns thunder, the Noiſe of the ſtroaks, the Claſhing of Armour, the Clattering of Harneſs, the Braying of the Horſes, the Groaning of Men Dying, and the Gaſping of the Dead reacheth almoſt to Heaven. I thought I had

been at the Battel of *Muskleborough* or *Agincourt*; But when I looked again and saw so many fair Ladies, so goodly Gentlewomen, so fine and so trim Maids pas these Pykes so wel, not once only but twice, thrice, yea sometimes twenty times, so easily, so merrily, so quietly, in their fine Beds of Down, their Chambers hanged with Arras, their Curtains and Coverings of Silk, their Pillows and Cushions Embroidered with Gold and Silver-work, their Warming-Pans, their Perfuming-Pans, and al such things so trick and trim about them: And they after it look so fair and ruddy, and so beautiful, that it would make any man in the World enamoured of them. And when I marked further what hast they made to go to the Battel again, I began to laugh at my self, and thought that the **Fear** in which you put me was with a Vizor only which you had taken upon you, and so made me afraid, as Children be afraid of Bearbuggs and Bulbeggers. Why? Is not the Bearing of Children painful? Is not that dangerous, say you? Ask not that of me, but of them who be never wel til their Paniers be ful, which they are sure they cannot empty til they come to this terrible Battel that ye speak of.

Lets see, if any of them wil leave and take Truce any longer than their Month or time of Churching cometh out. Which Month

Month ſome of them think it ſo long of four Weeks, that they end it moſt commonly at three weeks, becauſe they might the ſooner come to ſuch another of theſe Conflicts: So much they be afraid of it. It was my Chance to be at Dinner with the Countes of *Ormond*, with whom Sir *Francis Brian* maried. At which time ſhe being merrily diſpoſed, among other Communications that Ladies and Gentlewomen had of this matter, ſhe ſaid, ſhe had now born (as I remember) Ten Children, and ſhe was brought to bed not ſo nicely as the Ladies and Gentlewomen be here, but either in a Tent or a wide Barn after the maner of her Country *Ireland*: And I'tell you, ſaid ſhe, I felt in a maner no pain at al theſe Births. Nor I ſe no Cauſe why I ſhould make ſo nice of the Matter as you do here in *England*. We do not ſo in our Country. Whereat an old Lady was wonderfully offended, and ſaid they were Beaſts, and ſhe was but a Beaſt to ſay ſo. Then ſhe as a witty Lady turned the Matter, and ſaid, It was a Gift which St. *Patrick* begged for her Country-folk, the *Iriſh* Women, of our Lady. But the Truth is al Women that ſtir about to travail and to labour as they do there, and do not uſe themſelves to Reſt and Eaſe, as they can better away with Travail becauſe of uſe, ſo they bear that Travail of Childbirth

with much more Eaſe, and in maner with no pain. Which we do ſe alſo in theſe idle Runnagates *Egyptians*; whoſe Women be always trudging from place to place as they be, and be brought to bed in the Straw, in ſome Barn or Outhouſe without any great Curioſity: And within three or four days after, yea, ſometimes the ſecond day they ride away with the reſt of that beggarly Train.

I remember I read, when I was a Boy, in *Ariſtotle*, and I trow it be in his *Politicks*; he would that thoſe that ſhould make Laws for a Common-wealth, ſhould have regard alſo to Women that were great with Child; that they ſhould not uſe themſelves to over-fine' Diet, nor to over-much Reſt. Which, ſaith he, may be don, if they do appoint them certain Pilgrimages to be don to ſuch Gods as have the Honor of ſuch Matters: Meaning ſuch Gods as the Gentils did Sacrifice unto for ſuch things, as *Gemini*, *Lucina*, *Parcæ*, *Juno*, &c. His purpoſe is, that when the Time of Birth draweth nigh, they ſhould by gentle means be brought to a kind of Exerciſe and Travail, either on Horſeback, or on Foot, or both: to the intent that they might the eaſilier bear the Travail of Childbirth: And thought that they could by no means ſo wel be perſwaded unto them, which then be ſomewhat heavy, becauſe of their Burden,

den, as by Colour of Holineſs and Religion. So that our Pilgrimages alſo, which we had of late years, was not much out of the Way for ſuch an Effect, as may appear.

But I tary long about theſe Matters. To bear Children is painful I do not deny. It is the Threat of God to *Eve*, and to al her Poſterity, as wel as to *Adam* and al Men, to get his Living with the Sweat of his Brows: And yet ſome Men ſweat but eaſily. And why ſhould not I think alſo that her Highneſs ſhould bring forth her Children more eaſily than a great ſort of other Women. I ſe nothing leadeth me to the contrary. Many things do encourage me to think ſo: Her Learning, Diſcretion, Judgment, her ſtore of Phyſicians, and of al things neceſſary for them to uſe. That where other by their Folly do make that Travail to them more painful and dangerous than naturally it ſhould be, her Highneſs by her Noble Vertues and Wiſdom ſhould make it more eaſie, yea, than of natural Courſe it ſhould be. For as there be ways to augment, ſo there be ways to diminiſh Pain or Grief: Wherein ſtandeth the Difference of Wiſdom or Folly. But why do I ſtand upon this? Would not her Majeſty be glad, think you, to take ſome pain to make a Prince? To make one, who ſhould be a part of her? who ſhould m.ke her alive

after her Death, Reign in her ſtead, when by Courſe of Nature ſhe can tarry no longer? Who ſhall continue and tranſplant her Name and Poſterity for many an hundred years here Kings in *England*, and leave ſuch a Row of that Race, as is the Root of *Jeſſe*. Was it not you of whom I heard even now, that all fair and laudable things be painful to come by? Will you not grant unto me, that this which I ſpeak of now, to have a Prince born of her own Body, who ſhould Reign after her Highneſs here in *England*, in whom ſhe might ſe her own Image, not painted in a Table, but lively expreſſed, every Joint, yea, both Body and Soul; who ſhould cal her Highneſs Queen Mother, and whom al *England* ſhould cal King and Father? Whom if you do not think more to be eſteemed than al the Treaſure, that the wiſe and rich Prince her Grandfather K. *Henry* the VII. left at his Death, or that the Noble and Magnificent Prince her Father K. *Henry* VIII. ſpent in his Life, ye are in a contrary Opinion to all *Engliſh* men. Whom when ſhe ſhall behold, kiſs and embrace, ſhe ſhall take more Comfort and more Pleaſure in, than of all the Riches and Jewels which her Highneſs had, or ever was Lady of.

Do you not think I ſay, ſuch a Jewel worthy to have the pains taken, for the getting

getting of it, and bringing it to life? Are you he that was even now ſo ſtout, that if the Thing were good, laudable and neceſſary to be had, the harder it were to obtain, the more you thought it were to be laboured for? And ſo you Counſilled and proved by many Reaſons and Authorities. Are you, I ſay, now again ſo weak and ſo womanly-hearted, that for a little pains in the Birth, peradventure of one Hour or two, or at the moſt of one Day (for the Extremity of the Pain cannot lightly be longer) wil counſil us to caſt down our Courage, and run away like Cowards, and leave al this ſo rich and ſo precious a Treaſure ungotten, and unlaboured for, for the Travail of one hour? I wis *Bologn* coſt more the getting, and *Calais* the looſing. And yet this Treaſure were more worth than both thoſe Holds to her Majeſty, I dare ſay, and unto the Realm of *England*, if it ſhould be eſteemed by true value.

Mary, yet ye go neerer me, and bring in certain Queens, who have dyed in Childbirth. And herein you had good Advantage to have two Examples ſo neer, and in ſo freſh Memory, that they muſt needs make much indeed to the Terror of Miſchance. And yet this is but another Startbugg, that you have gotten to make us afraid. It is fince the Conqueſt five hundred years little under or over.

In which time our Chronicles have indifferently wel been kept, and many Kings and Queens have dyed, and al not after one ſort. I pray you how many more have you read of that have dyed in Childbed? And yet one of thoſe was not the Queen, but Dowager, as you know well enough. And ſome men would ſay it was thought that that did diſtreſs her then, and bring her to her End, as much as Travail of the Birth. But of that I will not Diſpute. But if in five hundred years, in which ſpace ſo many Queens have had ſo many Children, and only one or two have dyed in Childbed, would you make this ſo great a Fear? What Act or Doing is there, but Men and Women have dyed in it? Many of Feavors, more of Surfeits, ſome of Cold, ſome of overmuch Heat, a great number of ſorrow, not a few of Gladneſs, ſome in Talking, ſome in Sneezing, ſome in Gaſping, ſome ailing nothing, but making them ready in the Morning. What would you make of this, but that Death is ready at al Times and Hours to us that are Mortal.

K. *Henry* the Firſt, who for his Surname was called *The fair Clerk* or Learned Man, dyed of eating of a Lamprey. His Prince and eldeſt Son, and his fair Daughter were both drowned in the Sea. What ſhall never King eat Lampreys again? Nor the Daughters nor Sons of Kings come in

in Ships or Boats for that Cauſe? How often do you ſee that they ſhun it for all that, except the Weather be tempeſtuous? K. *William Rufus* was ſlain with an Arrow in hunting. Shall Kings therefore give over all paſtime, or let no Man bear Bows while they be in Hunting? How many do you ſee yearly drowned in the *Thames*? And who forſaketh notwithſtanding to row in a Barge or Wherry? How many thouſand of Children be born every day in one Place or other? How many Hundreds think you in the City of *London*, and in the Shire of *Eſſex* in a Month? And if two dy in a year in Childbed, it is a great Mervail. And yet even they commonly dy of ſome Fear or ſome Fright, or ſome Ague, or ſome other Cauſe, than the very Birth going before. So that it is not Ten, but a Hundred or a Thouſand to one, that the Woman ſhall eſcape, who travaileth with Child. And yet they do not amiſs to commit themſelves to God, and to require his Aid at all ſuch good and natural Works. And they have the more Comfort, as I think, when they be in pain. But to make this ſo perillous a Caſe, and ſo fearful a Matter, and ſo dangerous a Battel, I do aſſure you I ſe no Cauſe.

And becauſe you reckoned up ſo many Diſeaſes, whereunto natural Men and Women

Women be ſubject; And therefore you would be loth this alſo ſhould be added: You ſhall ſee how much contrary I am to you. I think that bringing forth of Children doth not only preſerve Women from many Diſeaſes, and other Inconveniences, but it doth alſo clear their Bodies, amend the Colour, prolong their Youth. If I ſhould bring unto you th'authority and Reaſons of Phyſic therefore, altho it be eaſy to do, yet would you ask me, who the Devil made me a Phyſician? And you would ſay you had no leiſure to look over, and try thoſe Books, which you may eaſily look, and ſe the Concluſion. Mark in the Court, and in all other places where ye go: Look what Ladies and Gentlewomen be moſt fruitful, and have moſt Children, if they look not for their Age moſt youngly, beſt coloured, and be cleareſt from Diſeaſes. Mark again them which be unfruitful, after they paſs once Fourty, or Fourty five years, and toward Fifty, if they look not withered, yea, either Red or Tawny coloured, and older than they be by a great way. I could bring you ready Examples not far hence, where be three Siſters marryed. Theldeſt hath Ten or Twelve Children, the middlemoſt but one, or two, and the youngeſt had never a one, who being beſt kept, and moſt at Eaſe, yet theldeſt Siſter being Ten years elder, looketh Twenty years younger than the

the youngeſt: And th[illegible]udlemoſt according to the Rate [illegible]er Children. And I could name e[illegible]ugh to you in the Court, and in [illegible]aon, and whenſoever you wil I w[illegible] ihew you them.

But I would have you, Mr. *Agamus*, to mark this that I ſay: And if you find my Sayings true, then never be in that Hereſy that you be in. But rather think, that for the Queens Majeſties own Perſon, and the Preſervation of her Body, Health, Colour, Beauty, Grace and Youth, it is an Hundred times better for her Highneſs to Mary, and to have Children, than to live ſole.

Now let us come to the Grief of Mind. For this was another piece, whereby ye crept ſo into us, that no Husband pleaſed you, neither Stranger nor *Engliſh*, neither whom her Highneſs would pleaſe, nor whom ſhe would not pleaſe. And ye thought there would be no long Agreement; Seing no Man nor Woman doth always agree with himſelf; much leſs he can agree with another. And hereupon ye builded your mervelous Forces and Caſtles: What Inconveniences come with Diſaggrements; What Grief of the Graunting, What Hatred of the Denying; What Danger of the Diſſenſion. And you helped your ſelf ſtoutly with the Hiſtories of Queens and Noblewomen, who have been greatly troubled, vexed, and brought to Extre-

Extremities [illegible] ture with you where you begun, and there joine with you where you think your self ſtrongeſt. Can never Man agree long with himſelf? Mary, ſo much the better, ſay I. We do not think al one of things when we be Children, and when we be Men, nor when we be young Men, and when we be old. Mary, we be the wiſer. For as Wiſdom cometh, Error goeth away. Folly and Wiſdom cannot agree. That which to Childiſhneſs and Folly of Youth appeareth good, to gray Age appeareth Lightnes, and nothing worth. Were it not better that this Diſſenſion and Debate in our ſelves were at the firſt; but that God would ſo train us up that we might ſe, how we did profit? Have we not, after a little. Wiſdom cometh to us, this Debate in our ſelves every day? The Appetite draweth one way, and Reaſon another. Th'one would run at randome, th'other holdeth back. What do good Fathers to their Children, but provide for them a Diſſenter, a Schoolmaſter, who ſhould by godly Perſwaſion, yea, and ſometimes Rebukes, keep them from that which they moſt deſire? Doth not two Eyes ſe better than one? Do not the contrary Opinions declared open the better the Truth? Why doth elſe the Judge hear both Parties, before he give Sentence? And wherefore be Coun-

Counſillors, but becauſe they be not always of the ſame Affection that the Prince is? And by this Diſſenting is the beſt way found out. For even as when in a heap of Sand or Mould there is eſpied a bright thing like Mettal, by ſifting of it and waſhing it, will come to a neerer Gueſs, and by farther Travail be tryed whether it be Gold or no: So when a thing gliſtereth and appeareth gay, the ſame being ſifted in Conſultation among divers Judgments, at the laſt doth ſo come to the ſtrong Water or Ramentation, or to the Teſt, til it appeareth in his Clearneſs, how it is to be reputed. Or els Copper may ſometimes be taken for Gold, and a vain thing, that wil conſume like Brimſtone, may be praiſed for good Mettal. And I pray you, who ſhall more carefully look to, or more faithfully counſil, or be more circumſpectly fearful, for the managing of her Highneſs Affaires than an Husband ſhould do? Or who can more amiably, more frankly, more certainly, or more ſecretly confer with her Majeſty for th'execution of them, than he can do? whoſe Heart and Body by the Law of God, and by the Law of natural Love, is knit to her Highneſs in a moſt ſure Knot.

And if they ſhould diſſent in Opinion, doth every ſuch diſſenting make war; then where ſhould Conſultation become? Methinks

thinks in this Matter we Four do but little aggree amongſt our ſelves; and yet I truſt we be Friends, and ſhall be ſtil. Where wiſe Perſons diſſent one from another, by their having Opportunity one to confer with the other, the Truth appeareth, and the beſt way is choſen. Which is far from the Miſchief you ſpeak of. But you went ſo far, that you would ſcarcely grant that her Majeſty ſhould love her Husband. What if the Queens Highneſs do willingly pleaſe and gladly gratify him, is he by and by her Superior? That that is an hard Work I dare ſay her Highnes will ſometime do for ſome of her Privy Chamber, yea and other alſo which require things of her Grace, when elſe her Majeſty had rather beſtow them ſome other way. Wil you cal this Subjection? I aſſure you that is too preciſe a Calling, and far from al common maner of ſpeaking or thinking. So far you do overreach with Coveting to make your Matter good.

What is the Marring of al evil Princes? What is the undoing of al Empires, but becauſe they have ſo many Flatterers, that wil ſay as they ſay; and ſo few Counſillors that wil diſſent, and tel them the Truth? Happy is that Prince that hath ſo wiſe a Counſillor, that can ſe that is beſt; but more happy is he, that hath one ſo bold that dares to tel it to him, and

ſo

ſo beloved of him, that he wil hear it at his Hands and bear it wel. For every man elſe ſaith as they ſay: Every man praiſeth that they like. What they affirm, that is true, be it never ſo falſe: What they like not, that is Evil, be it ever ſo good. Every man praiſeth their Vertues: no man telleth them their Faults. Yea, they make their Faults Vertues, and wil covet to follow them. So that a Prince of himſelf had need to be very good, juſt, temperate, and wel enclined to favour Vertue, and puniſh Vice; or els he ſhal be wonderfully led out of the Way by the Flattering of his Counſillors, and al other his Subjects. Who wil rather follow him in the wrong way, than once to move him to turn again, and to take the right. And, which is the Worſt, the Prince ſeeth but with their Eyes, and heareth but with their Ears. For he cannot hear nor ſe the Particularitie of things himſelf, but as they bring it unto him with whom he is converſant. What did I ſay? ſe with their Eyes, and hear with their Ears? Nay, if he did ſo, it were better. That is, if they would bring to the Prince juſt as they ſe and hear. But now he ſeeth not as they ſe, but as they wil tel him that they ſaw, nor as they heard, but as they wil tel him that they heard. So that if they be not wonderfully affected to the Truth, and to the Common-wealth (as for

for the moſt part few ſuch as be about Princes be, but rather affected to their own Kindred, Commodity, Lucre and Advauncement) then muſt it needs be, that the Prince doth ſe many times the Black White, and the White Black. Wherin the Prince is not in the fault, but the Reporter to the Prince.

In this il Fortune which al Princes have neceſſarily, and moſt of al Queens, (as naturally the Woman is the les ſtrayer abroad than the Man, and therefore can the les hear or ſe by her ſelf) what better Remedy can there be than an Husband, who can go abroad oftner, becauſe he is a Man, and ſe and hear things truly, becauſe he goeth abroad; bring home the Miſreports, becauſe he loveth the Queen, the bolder to tell it, becauſe ſhe loveth him; be more earneſt for her Highnes Wealth and Wel-doing, becauſe his Honor, Joy and Felicity lyeth upon it; be moſt careful of any Miſ-doing or Miſ-governing, becauſe his Deſtruction and Danger lyeth theron. For as he ſaid to his Son, Tho thou haſt many Lovers and Friends, yet thou haſt but one Father, (And indeed a man ſhal not find one more that hath the true Fatherly Affection, but only his own Father) So may I ſay, tho a Queen may find many Counſillors and welwillers and faithful Subjects, yet can ſhe have but one Husband; nor none other that

that can have ſo perfect, ſo ſincere, and ſo true Affection to her Highnes Perſon and Affairs. For none indeed hath ſuch Cauſe as her Husband hath. The knot of Dearnes and Love is ſuch, that it uniteth as it were Fleſh and Blood. Inſomuch that it ſurmounteth the Piety and reverent Love that the Father and the Son, the Mother and the Son hath one to another. For this ſaith God himſelf, *A man ſhall leave both Father and Mother, and ſhall cleave unto his Wife.* So neer, and ſo juſt, and with ſo vehement Affection, that they ſhall be but one Body and Mind. Which Affection none knoweth but ſuch as have been intangled with the ſame Knot.

And yet daily th'experience thereof is ſeen. What doth the Warrior, when he willingly ventureth his Blood to be ſhed; The Merchant, when he forſaketh not the raging Seas; The Lawyer with his Watching in the Night, and Crying in the Day til he be hoarſe; the Carpenter, the Tayler, yea the Plowman, with al their Occupations, with their Labour, Toyle, Watch, hard Fare and Sparing; but only to get and bring home for their Wives and Children? Look on theſe luſty young men, who having a Sword and Buckler and a good Gelding, and ſome Mony in their Purſe, do think themſelves in heaven; and ſtudy upon nothing but when they may meet to ſing, daunce and make good chear.

After one of them hath been maried a while, al that is gon with him, and he looketh where he may get, and ſpyeth where he may ſave. He deſpiſeth all the luſty Company, and ſtudyeth how to furniſh his Houſe at home, and to bring to pas, that his Wife and Children ſhould not lack. This Care ſhould not come, if Love went not before. This Affection he knew not, til he felt the Knot. And now it is ſo ſweet, that he forſakes his Singing, Dauncing, his making of good Chear, and al his other Jollities, Pleaſures and Paſtimes, to make much of his Wife and Children, and to provide that they ſhould not want any thing that ſhould be to them neceſſary: Yea, and not that only. For when that is don, he will not leave, if he can, to labour, toyl, ſtudy, travail al his Life-time, til Age driveth him from it, only that he might leave them in better eſtate, than he himſelf was at the firſt. He laboureth, that they might have eaſe; he watcheth, that they might reſt; he ſpareth, that they might have plenty; he defraudeth himſelf, and puniſheth his own Belly, that they might have enough to ſpend: And when they have ſpent, ſomewhat to leave. Now if any Injury ſhould be offered to his Wife and Children, who is ſo out of Patience as the Husband? He chafes, he fumes, he prepareth himſelf immediately to revenge.

And

And if the Enemies come, or the War be menaced, firſt he provideth that his Wife and Children be conveyed into ſafty. Then he himſelf maketh him ready to meet his Enemy. He offereth his Body to the Stroke, his Blood to be poured out, his Life to be taken from him, rather than they ſhall have one Finger hurt.

And this ſo natural, ſo common, ſo don of all men, that it is no News, it is no Wonder: No man mervaileth at it. For it is ſeen every day. Even the Wild Beaſts wil do as much to defend their Mates: Fight to the Death with the Hunter to keep him from the Den, where his Female and his Whelps do ly.

And here you bring in *Theodotus* Husband to *Amala Suenta* from *Rome*, *Philip* Viſcount from *Milain* in *Lumbardy*, *Jaques de la Nardie* Q. *Janes* Husband from *Naples*. They were Monſters of Mankind, Examples of Unkindneſs, Spectacles of Deviliſh Cruelty. Of which yet not one of them eſcaped unrevenged. And what? wil ye make a general Rule of this? So ſhal ye extinct and deface al natural Affection, al Order of Love, al Courſe of Kindnes. So may you bring in *Nero* that killed his Mother, becauſe ſhe ſeemed to millike ſome of his Vices: *Selimus* that killed his Father, becauſe he thought he

kept the Kingdom of the *Turks* too long from him: *Medea* that killed her own Children in deſpite of her Husband: *Cataline* that killed his own Son, becauſe a rich Widow would not els marry him: *Baſſianus*, that killed his Brother *Geta*, becauſe he would rule alone: And all the Rabblement of Father-killers, and Mother-killers, Son-killers and Daughter-killers, the Murtherers of their Brethren and Siſters, their Maſters, and their chief Friends: And prove that there is no Love nor Truſt in Father or Mother, Son nor Daughter, Brother nor Siſter, Kit nor Kin, even *Tymons* Sect. And very much better did Chriſt reaſon with *Simon* the Phariſee. *He whom more is forgiven*, ſaith he, *more doth love.* As who would ſay, he that hath more kindneſs ſhewed him, as the Benefit is greater, ſo is his Love more affectionate to him or her of whom he received it.

Which if it be true, who then can have a more Affection, a greater Love, and earneſter Care, and a ferventer Dearneſs of mind towards the Queen than he whom ſhe chuſeth above all men, whom ſhe preferreth to al the reſt, to whom ſhe giveth al that ever ſhe hath, and her ſelf alſo; Yea, whom ſhe maketh her ſelf. In that by this Knot they be both but one Body. Can this man ever hate her? Can he ſpeak evil of her? Or can he ſuffer

ſuffer that the leaſt Tittle in the world ſhould grieve her Mind? Sooner will he abide any Pain, any Grief, any Torment himſelf? For what can be a greater Grief, or painful Diſeaſe to him, than that ſhe of whom he received ſo unſpeakable a Benefit, ſhould perceive in him the leaſt ſpot of Unkindneſs; Except he be a wild Beaſt in a Man's Likeneſs, a Devil and a Monſter of Mankind, as *Nero* was, and theſe whom ye named, of whom ye have found out three ſince the World began. And I think you ſhal not, tho you ſearch never ſo neer, find out ſo many more.

The Comfort, the Eaſe of Mind, the Pleaſure, the Contentation that her Majeſty ſhal have of a loving husband, is unable with Words to be declared; and no Man or Woman can believe it, til they have proved it. Whereof what greater Argument can there be than this, that of ſo many Thouſand, as be maried, you ſhall not ſe among five Hundred one which once hath been maried, Men or Women I ſay, that when by misfortune one of the Couple dyeth, wil abide ſole without wedding again. They think in the mean ſpace their Houſes naked, their Table without Comfort, their Bed without Joy, themſelves half maimed, and to lack in al Purpoſes one of their Things moſt neceſſary, and, as *Ariſtophanes* ſaith in *Plato*, indeed they feel that the one

Half of themſelves all the while is away.

This far to the firſt two Points of your Oration. Now I come to the Third and laſt Point, wherein ye diſputed what were beſt for the Commonwealth, and for the whole Realm. And here methought you began to handle us very ungently. Ye asked us what Fault we find with the Government now: and wherein we do lack a man or Husband to the Queen? To the Firſt if we ſhould anſwer, ye would bring us in a Diſpleaſure with the Council, as tho we diſliked their Doings. To the Second if we ſhould, we might ſeem to note the Queens Majeſty as inſufficient to Rule her Realm. Pretty Streights ye have deviſed to make us hold our Peace. But this will not make us agree to your Opinion. What lack we, ſay you: Mary even that which you know your ſelf; For you were preſent, and a Goer with them your ſelf; the whole Parlament lacked you know what wel enough. What was their ſuite to her Majeſty I pray you? What required they by the Mouth of our Speaker? Were they then of your Opinion, or of mine touching that Matter? Why did not you declare ſo much in the Parlament, before they went to make their Petition to her Highnes, as ye have done here? ye might have ſtayed them peradventure, that they ſhould not with ſuch humble and earneſt Requeſts have moved her Majeſty, to have Com-

Compaſſion upon her poor Realm, and to think upon Marriage, wherein we might ſe ſome ſpeedy Hope of Succeſſion from her Highnes. But you durſt not; you ſaw ſo many, even al. men bent to the contrary; And you know wel enough you ſhould not eſcape unanſwered at the ful. And poſſibly you were not of that Opinion at that time. But now you be: Wel, if you be ſo now, to all other Reaſons I have anſwered; to the reſt this I have to ſay.

If in al ſuch kind of Reaſons, whether a Thing is better to be don or no, the Authority and Judgment of wiſe, ſober and diſcrete men ought to have greateſt weight, I can bring in the Authority of the greateſt, wiſeſt, ſageſt, graveſt, beſt, learned and expert men in th'affairs of the Realm, and maintaining of the Common-wealth, as you your ſelf can witnes, which were againſt your Opinion at that Time, and on my ſide. And if you, like a Philoſopher, will not ſuffer me to uſe Authority, I wil not fly your Reaſons, but as I began, I wil anſwer ſtil as I have don. And ye compare Q. *Maries* Time to this, and make this Time ſo much better than the other as you liſt your ſelf, wherin I wil not ſtrive with you, you ſhal find me ſo good a fellow yet, as *Cræſus* ſaid to *Cambyſes*, who would needs be better eſteemed than his Father the wiſe, and

great Conqueror *Cyrus*, He could not be ſo good as his Father was, for ſo much as *Cyrus* had left ſuch a Son to rule after him as *Cambyſes* Servants told him he was, and *Cambyſes* thought himſelf to be. But *Cambyſes* himſelf had not yet gotten any Child. This Fable of *Cræſus*, as *Herodotus* ſaith, ſo tickled *Cambyſes*, that he eſcaped therby, and told the Truth. Why, ſay you, no more had Q. *Mary* any Child. Mary, Sir, I do not compare the Queens Highneſs to Q. *Mary*: but yet I wil ſay that Queen *Mary* did what lay in her more for that purpoſe than Q. *Elizabeth* doth. And I would She would as wel in that as in al other Things paſs Q. *Mary*. If al be wel now, as you ſay it is: We have Peace, we have Plenty, We have Quiet at home, Friendſhip abroad: What ſhould we deſire more?

As we have great Cauſe to give Almighty God Thanks for it, and to rejoyce and Congratulate with the Queens Highnes for that; So have we the more Cauſe to fear, the greater Occaſion to foreſee, the ſafter Warning to provide, that this Eſtate might continue. Except we ſhal be no wiſer than the Graſhoppers: to whom becauſe they did not provide in Summer wherewithal to live, but applied al their Time to Singing and Dauncing, the Ants did ſay, when Winter came and their Need appeared, that they muſt weep

weep and repent then without Remedy. We al rejoyce in the Queens highnes, and have great Cauſe. God proſpereth al things in her Highnes hands above al Expectation, and almoſt more than we can deſire. Becauſe the Weather is ſo fair, ſhal we not look for a Storm? Becauſe this is a Summer, ſhal we think that Winter wil never come? If we do ſe only that is preſent; if we have no regard what ſhal come after: If we had no conſideration as wel for our Proſperities, as for our ſelves, We are not worthy to be called Men, but Beaſts. Who whether of Reaſon or no, I know not, but certainly of a certain Inſtinct of Nature, ſeem to have a care, and hoard up ſtore for the time to come. Wherefore if we have cauſe to like in her Majeſty thoſe Princely and Heroical Gifts which Nature hath beſtowed on her Highnes: That goodly Perſonage and Stature reſembling her Father, ſo noble a Prince and ſo wel beloved to the Realm: If her Beauty doth not only pleaſe us, but bring al other in Admiration that ſe her? If th'excellency of Wit, the great Underſtanding, that Knowledg of ſo many Tongues, the Dexterity of Entertaining, and the Gravity in Communication, and al other the Princely and Heroical Vertues, which be ſo clear and reſplendent in her Majeſty, do raviſh us in Admiration of her Highnes, Except we

we ſhould do as the Graſhoppers do, content our ſelves with the Time preſent, and look no farther, what can we do but wiſh, pray, deſire and long for the Propagation and Continuation of the ſame among us? Like as we do with Flowers which we like, with Apples and other Fruit which do pleaſe us above al others, we deſire to have more of the ſame kind ſet in our Garden, and more of the ſame Fruit grafted in our Orchyard: that our Poſterity may take pleaſure in them as wel as we.

This is ſo natural, ſo goodly and ſo reaſonable, that methinks it was but a ſtrange Queſtion of you to ask, What we lacked. And if I could cal this Realm of *England* to ſpeak what it lacked, and what Fault it found, I dare ſay it would not only wiſh, but expoſtulate and accuſe her Highnes and ſay, Did not I bring thee up, O Queen? Did not I nouriſh thee? Hath not God in thy Youth ſaved thee from ſo many Dangers? From Priſon, from Puniſhment, from Death? becauſe thou mighteſt reign and rule my People in the Fear of God, and the Knowledg of his Son? And that thou mighteſt once again bring in the Light of the Goſpel, and caſt off the *Romiſh* Yoke, and keep the Race of the Mixed Roſe, which brought again the amiable Peace long exiled from among my Children by the

the Striving of the two Roſes: And wilt thou now as much as lyeth in thee, let it be extinct? What if thy Noble Father had lived Sole as thou doeſt? What if that good Lady thy Mother had don ſo? Should I not have lacked thee, in whom I have now ſuch Joy and Comfort as I never had the like in any Prince? Remember what is the Nature, Property and Duty of that Sex and Kind of which thou art. Is it not to bring forth young Babes, to nouriſh them in their tender Age, to have that Carefulnes, Motherly-Love, and Tendernes over them which no Man can have? And why do I not ſe one in thy Armes, whom thou mighteſt kiſs and embrace and play withal of thine own; Which after thee ſhould rule and govern this Realm, and be the Staff of thine old Age and mine? This thou oweſt to the Noble King thy Father: This to the Wiſe Prince thy Grandfather: This to al thy Aunceſters: This thou doeſt to me. And if this be the Property and th'end, whereunto Women were firſt ordained, to bring forth Children, and to propagate the Name of their Stock and Family; why wilt thou, O Queen, having ſo many high and excellent Vertues ſtain them al with this Wickednes, degenerate from this Nature? What meaneth St. *Paul* when he ſaith of Women, That *they ſhal be ſaved by the bearing of Children, if they*

they tary in the Faith? And what wilt thou, O Queen, deny it always? Why ſhould the wiſe and couragious Prince thy Father put away the Superſtitious Nuns, if now his Daughter ſhould take their Property, and as it were, their Order upon her? Defer ſtil, and ſtil? And how long wil it be? Time goeth away: Age draweth on; Youth flyeth; Opportunity is ſpent. And wilt thou not ſe the bringing up of thy Jewel, of that Treſure of the Realm? Wilt thou not ſe him trained up in ſuch Vertue and Nourture, as thy ſelf was? Shal I tary ſo long for it, til Age ſhal drive thee away, and ſo leave that thy Jewel and mine, to be brought up by the wide World? What I like in thee, that do I deſire to ſe in the Prince that ſhould ſucceed thee. And who can be better School-maſter, Nurſe, Bringer-up of him, than my *ELIZABETH* can be, the Mother of my Infant? And ſuch a Mother as in a King of moſt Power no Realm can deſire more Princely and Heroical Vertues. And for the Pain, thou ſhalt have again this moſt pleſant Recompence; that as thou ſhalt wax old, ſo ſhalt thou ſe thy ſelf wax as it were young again in him. Now I am ſure, would *England* ſay, Thou wouldeſt wiſh with al thy Heart, for the Love that I know thou doſt bear me, thy Country, not to leave after thee a Child to Govern me, but either

either a man of perfect Age, or at the leaſt a young man very neer ſuch Time as Princes ſhould take the Government themſelves. And how is that poſſible, if thou do ſtil prolong, Doubt, and Defer, as now thou doſt.

Thus methinks *England* might ſpeak wel enough to her Majeſty. Whoſe Word I truſt her Highnes wil both hear and weigh, when it ſhal pleaſe God to put it in her Highnes mind.

But I wil return to your other Arguments, Mr. *Aganus*. You were ſomething long in proving, that the Queens Majeſty may in Peace by her Council, in War by her General, govern and conduct al things as wel, as tho She were there in Perſon her ſelf. Hardly wil I graunt that the one ſhould be as wel as th'other. I ſe in al other things, that *Oculus Domini non ſolum paſcit Equum optime*, as he ſaid, but alſo *Colit & ſtercorat Agrum*. The *Italians* have a Proverb, *La faccia d'huomo faccia de Leone*, The Face of a man is the Face of a Lion: Meaning that the Preſence of a man himſelf to whom the thing doth appertain, to Terror, to Diligence, to ſetting forward of that which is intended, doth ſurmount and paſs al other things. As when our late Sovereign K. *Henry* VIII. lay againſt *Boloign*, and another Camp with right good Captains before *Montrel*, the Courage of the Soldiers, the Proviſion of

of the Victuals, the Effect of the Enterprize ye know was not like. For th'one fought under the Princes Ey, th'other as it were behind him; th'one saw present Reward or Pain, th'other had but trust of their Captains Report.

As touching the *Romans*, where do you se or read in their Histories, that the Legates which we call Generals, or Lieutenants, did so wel as the *Consuls* or *Proconsuls* in any War. Who altho they were but as other of the Senate; yet for that Time they had a Kingly and Sovereign Authority, especially abroad. And yet the *Romans* thought not that enough, but when any danger came they made *Dictatorem*: Who from the Time of his Dictatorship was a very King or Monarch, as ye know well enough. So much did they think that Legats and Generals could not do th'enterprize so wel as he that hath the Princely *Fasces* as they cal them, and the Sceptre. And who that readeth the *Venetian* Histories shal se that altho their Captain or General hath one of their Senate, called *Proveditore*, with him, By whose Counsil if he do, he doth avoid the danger of judgment; Yet for because he is not indeed *Consul* or *Dictator*, ye see their Wars go but coldly forward. And this you knowing (which Thing I marked in your Tale) you praise them for the keeping that which they get, where-

wherefore, I peradventure could ſhew ſome Cauſes. Indeed for good Warriors I never heard Man yet give them the Prize. And if I ſhould grant this, that the Generals in War do as wel as the Prince in Perſon (which thing you ſee I am very loth to do) and if it had not been ſtrange, and a thing to be wondered at in *Octavius Auguſtus*, *Plutarch* would not have noted it. But if I ſhould grant it, yet as the *Greeks* ſay, *One City is before another*; and there is difference in Generals and Lieutenants; not only in knowledge of the Feats of War, and in the Hardines of Courage and Wiſdom to atchieve them, but alſo in Eſtimation of the Soldier.

And who can be more eſteemed, or go more neer to do as much in the Wars and with Soldiers, as the Queen her Self, if She were a Warriour, or there in Perſon, ſhould do, as either he which is the King, or the Queens Husband? In K. *Henry* III. his Time, I read of Prince *Edward*, who was after called *Long Shanks*, and in the Time of *Edward* III. of the Black Prince, and *Henry* V. that they did as much as their Fathers; and that their Soldiers would under their Banners fight as valiant, and go as far, as they would govern, their Fathers being then Kings of *England*. And no marvail, They did not only look ſhortly to have them their Sovereign

vereign Maſters, but they knew in the mean time how dear thoſe Perſons were to their Fathers. Which two things did work ſo much in their Hearts and Minds, that there was ſmal Want of the Royal Preſence. So much think I it doth excel to the Encouragement of the Soldier, to the Hope of the Capitain, to the Terror of the Enemy, to underſtand that the Husband of the Queen, he whom her Highnes Loveth above al men, and whom She truſteth moſt, and who can commend their Doings at al Times to her Highnes, to be in the Field; over it is, of any other Lieutenant or General, whoſoever he be.

At one thing I aſſure you, you had almoſt made me to laugh, when that you ſpoke ſo husbandly of Husbanding. I perceive the Queens Majeſty doth not wel, that you are not one of the Green-cloth, you would husband the Matter ſo wel, and teach them al to ſave mony. And for one thing ye might do wel there, becauſe I perceive ye love no Takers. But if you were once of them I fear me you would love Takers better, and bear with them as wel as al the reſt do. Oh! merciful God, do you look to ſave mony, and do not care to ſave your Head? You do conſider, how a few Expences may be ſaved, and do not ſe how your Poſterity ſhal be ſpent and conſumed. Cal to remembrance I pray you what was ſpoken (you wot

Where

Where and When) a little before the Speaker of the Parlament went to move that Petition to her Highnes, wherof I ſpake even now: I would to God her Majeſty might live ever; I would ſhe ſhould not dy: but now I know that being born of mortal Parents, there is no Remedy, She muſt once run this Race that al her Progenitors have don before, and al mortal Men and Women ſhal follow. When that is don, what a Damp ſhal *England* be in? What an Eclipſe wil that be, if God do not either ſend a Prince before of her Body, or els incredible Aggrement of the Nobility and Commons? We hear what the *Daulphin* did attempt by the Title of his Wife; the *Scottiſh* Queen after the Death of Q. *Mary*. Happy is the Queens Majeſty by the great Conſent of her Subjects; and happy be her Subjects by the Life and Proſperity of her Highnes. But if there come any Diſſenſion for the Trials of Titles: If there come Part-takings, who ſhould wear the Crown, what a more miſerable Realm ſhould there be in the whole World than this of *England*?

I am afraid to ſpeak, and I tremble to think, what Murthers and Slaughters, what Robbing and Rifling, what Spoiling and Burning, what Hanging and Heading; what Waſting and Deſtroying, Civil War ſhould bring in, if ever it ſhould come.

From the Time that K. *Richard* II. was depoſed, in whom al the Iſſue of the Black Prince was extinct, unto the Death of K. *Richard* III. the unkind and cruel Brother of *Edward* IV. whoſe Daughter was Maried as ye know to K. *Henry* VII. by reaſon of Titles this poor Realm had never long Reſt. Noble men were beheaded, poor men were ſpoiled, both one and th'other ſlain in battel, or murthered at home. Now this King prevailed, now th'other. No man ſure of his Prince; no man of his Goods; no man of his Life. A King to day, to morrow a Priſoner: Now hold the Sceptre and ſhortly after fly privily the Realm. And when this fel upon the Head, how ſped the Body, think you? Thoſe two Blades of *Lyonel* and *John* of *Gaunt* never reſted purſuing th'one th'other, til the Red Roſe was almoſt razed out, and the White made al bloudy; And as it were *Eteocles* and *Polynices*, they ceaſed not til they had filled their Country ful of bloudy Streams. They ſet the Father againſt the Son, the Brother againſt the Brother, the Unkle ſlew the Nephew, and was ſlain himſelf. So Bloud purſued and enſued Bloud, til al the Realm was brought to great Confuſion. It is no marvail tho' they loſt *France*, when they could not keep *England*. And *England* in the latter end of K. *Henry* VI. was almoſt a very *Chaos:* Pariſhes decayed,

decayed, Churches fel down, Townes were deſolate, plowed Fields waxed Groves, Paſtures were made Woods; Almoſt half *England* by Civil War ſlain: and they which remained not ſure, but in Moates and Caſtles, or lying in Routs and Heaps together.

When thoſe two Roſes, by the Reliques and laſt ſtore of the Whole, were joyned in the amiable Knot of Mariage, then the Strife ended, and *England* began as it were to be inhabited again. Men left Moates and Caſtles, and builded abroad pleaſant Houſes. And thus it hath continued from K. *Henry* VII. hitherto; Save that in this Time a few Broyls of the Stirred Sea, which could not ſo ſoon be calmed, by *Martin Swarte*, *Perkin Warbeck*, and *Simond* out of *Ireland*, were ſomewhat renewed: but they were Trifles to the reſt. Sith which Time, not containing yet fourſcore years, you ſe how *England* is repeopled, the Paſtures clothed, the Deſarts inhabited, the Rents of Lands encreaſed, the Houſes repleniſhed, the Woods ſo waſted, that now we begin to complain for want of them, and our Encreaſe is tedious to our ſelves, which find fault with the Fruits of Peace, becauſe we know not the Cauſe of the Succeſs, nor the Commodities therof. But as, if al the World ſhould return to the old *Chaos*, it were the greateſt miſchief that Heart

could invent, Tongue ſpeak, Pen expreſs, or Wit indite; So if this ſhould come to our Country of *England*, we for our parts ſhal feel this I ſpeak of, and as it were the particular Judgment of the Day of Doom. And it ſtandeth but on a tickle and frail Ground, if God wil ſo plague our Country, whether the Red and White Roſe ſhal ſtrive again together, or whether the branches of the mixed Roſe ſhal cleave aſunder and ſtrive within themſelves, which is neerer the Root. Oh! Lord God, let me not live to ſe that day. And you my Friend, do you in this Company ſpeak of Saving of Mony, to let the ſaving of this Trouble from the Realm of *England*?

With this he held his peace, and ſeemed indeed very much troubled: And no man ſaid a word even a good pretty ſpace; til at the laſt the Stammerer that I told you of, whom they called after al that night Mr. *Godfather*, ſtutting after this maner ſaid this in effect: By the Lord, I believe you have told as good a Tale as ever I heard. I am now glad I have an Excuſe by my Tongue: for I ſhould not have don it ſo wel. For both in Peace and War, and al times you have proved, that it is beſt for her Grace, and moſt to her Comfort and Quiet, to have an Husband. Mary, I thought long for this Laſt Part, of

of the Neceſſity of a Prince of her Highnes Body. And becauſe you paſs it over ſo with Silence, I had thought to have put you in mind of that thing; but now I wil not ſay more of it; For I ſe it troubleth you as it doth us al.

Now Sir, you have ſaid ſo much for me, as I would wiſh, and I thank you. For the reſt, as I ſaid, I am indifferent. If you have any thing to ſpeak for an Alien, who be ſo tender unto you, and whom you do always prefer before us *Engliſh* Men, ſpeak on a Gods Name, and let this Gentleman provide wel to aunſwer you. For I perceive ye wil do wel enough both.

III. Philoxenius, *or* Love-alien, *his ſecond Oration for the Queens Marying with a Stranger.*

IN good Faith, quoth *Love-alien*, now I have ſpoken for you ſo long, I am in a maner weary, when I ſhould ſpeak for my ſelf. And yet this was not out of the Way for me ſo to do, but in maner neceſſary. For it ſtandeth not with order of Diſputation, as to my remembrance *Ariſtotle* writeth, that I ſhould go about to prove *Quale ſit*, before I have proved *Quod ſit*. Ther fore it had been ſuperfluous

for me to deſcribe what maner of Husband I thought moſt meet for the Queens Highnes, if it were not firſt proved by reaſon, that it were convenient that her Majeſty ſhould have one. For if her Grace be fully determined and perſwaded by Mr. *Agamus*, *Spiteweds* Reaſons, then to reaſon whether a Stranger or an *Engliſh-man* were more to be wiſhed, is clean ſuperfluous. For it is cut off by this one ſtroke, Her Majeſty wil have none.

Wel, here among this Company for Diſputation ſake, I wil ſtand ſo wel in my own Conceit, that I take Mr *Agamus* his Opinion thorowly confuted. And let us put the Caſe that is aggreed upon; That beſt it were for her Majeſty to Mary; then ſtandeth it in Conſultation farther of the maner and Condition of her Husband. Wherin may be made many Queſtions; as whether a Young Man, or a more elderly; whether a Batchelor or a Widower, an *Engliſh-man* or a Stranger, a great Prince or a King, or a mean Perſonage: as in al ſuch where divers be offered of ſundry Qualities, wherof the Choiſe and Election is to be taken: and becauſe both I am weary, and there hath yet but one of theſe Queſtions been moved amongſt us, I ſhal ſpeak but of that Branch only, Whether an *Engliſh-man* or a Stranger is to be perferred. Wherin becauſe I have already declared my Opinion

nion which Part I mind to take, it reſteth that I ſhould alſo declare the Reaſons which moved me to think as I have ſaid; and here I intend to begin.

The very true, godly and eſſential Cauſes of Matrimony, (if I may uſe that Term) be three; The getting of Children without the Offence of God, The natural Remedy to reſiſt the Temptation of the Devil, moving us to Fornication or Adultery; And the Comfort, Pleaſure and Help which th'one hath of th'other in al private Affairs, and in Governing the Houſe and Family. This laſt the Philoſophers, which knew not the right Law of God, make the firſt, the chief and the whole Cauſe. For as for the Second, I mean Fornication, they eſteemed it not. And the firſt they thought they might amend, when they would, by Adoption, either of their own Baſtards, or other Folks lawful Children, with the Conſent of their Parents. For al theſe Three, this our Queſtion doth not vary. For either the Stranger or the *Engliſh-man* ſeemeth indifferent therunto; and I make no Difference in them. Then there be other Cauſes, which be incident and as I might cal them, Accidental, as Honor, Power and Riches: Having firſt God, and thoſe three Cauſes, which I called Eſſential of Matrimony, principally in our

Eyes, these Things ought in this Consultation to have the highest Place.

And because I take al you here to be no Children, and in this which I have said to be in the same Opinion that I am, I wil make no further Proeme, but go to, and confer these together in the two Persons which you have brought in to be weighed here as in a Pair of Ballances; that is, the *Stranger* and the *English-man*. And I say, if the Queens Majesty have respect to Advauncement and Honor, can that be in Mariage of any within the Realm, who being but her Subjects be they never so high, shal be under her highnes a great Distance? So for that purpose it shal not be Advauncement but Disparagement. Wherin I must commend the late Q. *Mary*; who having more regard to her Honor than to her Age, to th'advauncement therof than to any other Plesure which she could long have, took to her Husband K. *Philip*, *Charles* th'Emperours Son, the greatest Prince of Birth and Possessions in al Christendom. Wherby she gat the Sovereignty over so many Kingdoms, Dukedoms, Marchionates, Earldoms, Baronies, Countries and so forth; that it would be more than an Hours Work to reherse them, and to be the greatest Estate of a Woman in al Christendom.

And

And if it be honorable to a Prince to Conquer one Kingdom with Dint of the Sword, with making of War, with Spoiling, Burning, Waſting, Death, Deſtruction, Fire and Sword, Man-ſlaughter and Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood; how much more honorable ought it to be accounted to obtain and get not one but a great ſort of Kingdoms and Dominions, not with Violence and Oppreſſion, but with Amity and Love, and that moſt godly, ſweet and pleaſant Knot of Mariage? So *Mary* the Daughter and Heir of *Charles* the hardy Duke of *Burgundy*, by Marying her ſelf to *Maximilian* Son to *Fredericus* of *Auſtriche* then Emperor, hath made her Progeny the Houſe of *Burgundy*, to enjoy ſo many Realms and Seignories in *Boheme*, in *Hungary*, in *Spain*, in *Sicily*, in *Naples* and *Italy*, in the High and Low Country of *Germany*, and neer it went to have enjoyed alſo *England* and *Ireland*. So *Mary* the *Scottiſh* Queen that liveth now, if the Enterprize had had Succeſs, and ſhe had had by her Husband any Son, She ſhould have left a double King; I mean in *France* a King, as wel as of *Scotland*; and of them both the greater King by her Purchaſe than elſe he ſhould have been by his Mothers Inheritance. So *Claudia* the Daughter of the Duke of *Britain* by Mariage with the *French* King hath made her Sons and Off-ſpring not only Dukes of *Britain*, but Kings and Poſſeſſors of

of al *France*; when her Aunceſters heretofore had much ado always to keep their own, being but only Dukes of *Britain*, much leſs could conquer or adjoyne to their Dutchy any thing of the reſt of the Realm of *France*.

Now if Honor is to be deſired, and if it be a Glory to be made from a Baroneſs a Counteſs, and from a Counteſs a Marchioneſs or Dutcheſs, and from a Dutcheſs a Queen; why is it not alſo as wel to be from a Queen an Empreſs, or from a Queen of one Kingdom, a Queen of two or three; and ſo the more Honorable, and the more to be ſought and deſired? To the Encreaſe of which Honor, if Men do apply and ſtudy themſelves ſometimes by Sword and ſometimes by Mariage to attain, why ſhould not a Queen deſire to do as wel as they, eſpecially by the better, more ſure and more amiable way? Which thing ye ſee can be don either by no ways, or by no ways better than by Mariage. And this I have to ſay of *Honor*.

Now I come to *Power* or Strength. Which ſtandeth in two Things. Either for a Prince to keep his own Realm quiet from Rebellion, or to make that the foreign Prince being Ambitious or deſirous of War, neither may dare invade him, or els, if the Prince be ſo minded, to conquer and recover ſuch Things, which of old by Titles and juſt Reaſons remain to be claimed. The which the Prince heretofore either for lack

lack of Power or Mony, for ſhortnes of Time. Civil Diſſenſion, their own Sloth, or any Cauſe whatſoever it be, hath omitted or foreſlowed. For theſe remain ſtil as Cauſes unto Princes, when they be weary of Eaſe, or deſirous of Honor, or when other juſt Occaſion is offered to exerciſe themſelves and their Subjects. For any of thoſe, if her Majeſty mary within the Realm, what hath She gained? All her own Subjects were her own before; all their Powers are Hers already. Not one Man hath She for the Mariage more than She had before. Wheras if She mary a foreign Prince, if he be an Emperor, al the Empire is hers to aid her, and her Husband at al Events. If ſhe mary a King, likewiſe al his Kingdom; if ſhe marry a Duke, Earl or Prince, al his Vaſſals, Kinſfolks, Allies, and Friends are united to her Realm, and be taken al for Brethren, to allow Strength and Aid, both Offenſive and Defenſive, as Occaſion and Neceſſity ſhal ſerve. For who can offend the Wife, but he muſt offend the Husband alſo? So that her Majeſties Power muſt needs be encreaſed by ſo much as the Power of her Husband doth extend, either by Authority, Title, Blood, Alliance, Friendſhip or Affinity.

Then if Princes be glad, whenſoever they invade, or be invaded, to ally themſelves with the Princes their Neighbours manytimes by coſtly Leagues and much Suite and

and Entreaty of Ambaſſadors, if that may be don by one ſmal Act, as chuſing ſuch a puiſſant Prince to her Husband, as we would moſt deſire to be our Friend or Aid in Neceſſity either of Defence or Invaſion, why ſhould not I think that it were better for the Queens Majeſty to take ſuch an one, wherby ſhe may be backed and ſtrengthened, and her Power as it were double and treble, than to take one by whom ſhe ſhal have no more Power, Help, Aid nor Succour brought unto her, than ſhe had before? And it is to be feared that ſhe ſhal rather have leſs. For when Envy naturally kindleth amongſt Equals, if the Queen take one of her higher and ſtronger Nobility, all the reſt it wil be doubted wil envy his Felicity, and tho in Words they ſpeak him fair, yet in Heart hardly wil they love him. For they ſhal be as Rivals and *Candidati* for one Office: where commonly he that hath obtained, if of the inferior ſort, al the reſt ſhal diſdain at him. Which Diſdain wil bring Grudge: and Grudge never bringeth good Wil. So that by this Mariage her Highnes ſhal ſeem, not to encreaſe her Strength, but to weaken it, not to unite it, but to diſſolve it.

Examples be too neer to be found. K. *Edward* IV. maried the Lady *Katharine Gray*, a goodly Lady, and his Enemies Wife. Did not that Mariage as all Hiſtories make mention, fil in maner al the reſt of the

the Nobility, that thought themſelves ſomewhat, with Malice, Envy, Grudg and Diſpleſure againſt al her Blood? And her Blood by moſt Liklihood did not greatly come behind them. This Miſchief was the Deſtruction both of th'one and th'other; and not that only, but of the Two goodly Young Gentlemen K. *Edwards* Sons, the Prince and his Brother. Had it not been better he had married there where the Earl of *Warwick* was his Spokes-man; Wherby he ſhould have gotten Strength abroad, and his Nobility at home not ſo to have been diſſevered. Thus far of *Power* and Strength.

The ſame I do think alſo of *Riches*. For the which altho it doth moſt become poor men to travail, yet I do not ſe, but that Princes both do and have as much need to look and ſtudy for to get it. Eſpecially now in our Times, when War is made as much by Mony as by Sword; and he that may longeſt pay his Soldiers, goeth Victor away. And if they be both diſpoſed to cock it throughly, yet when they both be made Bankrupts, then they muſt needs conclude a Peace. But if her Highnes do look to enrich her ſelf and her Realms, as both Reaſon would, and I am ſure it is no little Part of her Graces Study ſo to do, (Which thing may appear by many evident Tokens) ſeing that which in *England* and *Ireland* is to be accounted her own

(as

(as no man doubteth) there can of the gathering together of that no Advauncement be accounted: But if to that which her own Kingdom hath, her Highnes doth adjoyn the Riches of another Region which is none of hers, then muſt we needs judge the true Encreaſe to be made. Which Thing you know the Mariage of the Lord of the Country doth without further Coſt or Danger bring to paſs.

And this ye may be ſure, that her Highnes can take to Husband no foreign Prince, nor Nobleman of another Country, but ſome Riches he will bring with him, more than ſhal bear his Coſts. And contrariwiſe, if her Majeſty take one at home, both her own Crown muſt be ſpoiled of Lands and her Coffers of Mony, to furniſh him according to his Eſtate. For what private man, of what Condition, Riches or Power ſoever he be, is able of his own Lands or Coffers to bear or maintain the State of her Highnes Husband?

And of this matter I think I have ſaid enough. For where there be but ſix Cauſes or Occaſions of Mariage, as I have declared, wherof the Three firſt be indifferent, that neither the Stranger is excluded, nor the *Engliſh-man* reckoned to have any Advantage in them; (Which Three do appertain chiefly to the Conſcience, and the godly Motives towards Matrimony,) and the Three other, which rule and lead almoſt

moſt al the World after them, be al upon the Strangers ſide, as you ſe, whether way I ſhould lean, if my Judgment were asked, it is apparent enough. If th'advauncemont to Honor; wherto al Princes, as ye know, have a ſpecial regard and Ey; If the Encreaſe of Power and Strength, which is the thing that a wiſe Prince and Governor doth chiefly covet; if th'augmentation of Riches and Wealth, which is not the leaſt Care that a King or a Queen ought to have; if not one I ſay, but al theſe ſtand on his Side: So that the Mariage of a Stranger doth appear not only more Honorable, but alſo more Safe and more Profitable to the Queens Majeſty, I muſt needs be in this Opinion, that it is better for her Highnes to take to Husband a Stranger than any Subject of Hers within the Realm of *England* or *Ireland*.

After he had ended al, the reſt held their Peace, til my Friend, the Stammerer began, whom they al the night after (as I ſay) called Mr. Godfather, becauſe he was ſo ready to Nickname the reſt. So that as he miſnamed others (and yet not miſnamed, for according to their Opinions and Doings he gave them Names: but as he did) ſo likewiſe was he upon his Doings called of them Mr. Godfather; becauſe that he, as tho he had been at a Chriſtening, named them

them al of new. Which Names they ſeemed to me not much to refuſe, nor to be angry with them, nor he with his. And therfore I wil hereafter ſo name them al. Wel, ſaith he, for your Part, Mr. *Lovealien* or *Lewelyn*, (for my Tongue loveth to ſpeak ſhort) you have played it wel; and now I am content to be on your Side. Mary, I cannot tel what I ſhal be, when my Friend here hath ſpoken, what ſhal I cal him? what other than *Homefriend*, or, if ye would be Chriſtned in Greek, Ἀξένιος or rather Φιλοβρύτανος. For in good Faith he is nothing but *Engliſh*. I think he be the Patron and very Idea of an old *Engliſh-man*, which thought no Country ſo good, ſo plentiful, ſo rich, ſo happy as *England* is, nor no men ſo fair, ſo wel made, ſo bold, ſo hardy, ſo good Warriors, ſo wiſe and ſo diſcrete, as we *Engliſh-men* be. And even now he is ſo enamoured of his Country, that he taketh I dare ſay, as the Proverb is, the Smoak in *England* to be warmer and better than the Fire in *France* or *Italy*. And as for the Stoves in *Germany*, he cannot abide them. Wel, ſaid Mr. *Homefriend*, and laughed, I am glad I have my Name yet before I ſhal begin; And I do not fear, but when you have heard me, you wil be of my ſide, and ſo we ſhal be at the leaſt two to one; altho Mr. *Spitewed* tary ſtil in his Opinion of Nunnery and ſole Life. And after a little ſpace thus he began:

IV.

IV. Axenius *or* Home-friend *his Oration, for the Queens Majeſty's Marrying with an* Engliſh *Nobleman, raher than any Foreign Prince.*

OF one Part of my Oration, Maſter *Love-alien*, ſaith he, I take my ſelf to be well eaſed. For you have ſo much proved the Neceſſity, and Commodity of her Highneſs Marriage, and ſo well refuted *Agamus* his Oration, that it were ſuperfluous for me therein to make any Words. And if you had been diſpoſed to have ſtretched the Vein of your excellent Wit, as well in the behalf of our Countrymen, as ye were of the Strangers, who neither are ſo near unto you, and ſhall never do you, nor your Country ſo much good, I know you would have done it much better, and I had been eaſed of my Labour, who had rather a great deal be a Hearer than a Talker. But now, ſeeing that through your unnaturalneſs, this Burthen lighteth on my Back, altho' I know that I am very weak, yet had I rather overburthen my ſelf, than leave my Country undefended, or to ſee my Countrymen ſo much diſgraced.

Our Queſtion is, Whether, if it pleaſe the Queens Majeſty to Marry, it were better that her Majeſty took an *Engliſh* man, or a Stranger. Here you come with your fine and logical Diſtinction, and bring in the Cauſes

Eſſential and Accidental of Marriage; as tho' we were in a School of *Dunſery*, and not in a Diſcourſe of Pleaſure, where we would ſeek out the Truth, without any Fraud or Circumvention, I pray you either mince not the matter ſo finely, or elſe go not ſo lightly away with every piece, before it be either granted to you, or elſe fully proved.

And firſt, to the three Eſſentials which you make, I will never grant that the *Engliſh* man and the Stranger be equal. For even for the firſt, I mean getting of Children, if you ask mine Opinion, altho' after Marriage, by the Law of God, whoſoever the Father be, the Prince or Child which is gotten, ſhall be moſt rightful Heir of *England*, and an *Engliſh* man, yet it muſt needs be better an hundredfold, that our Prince be a mere *Engliſh* man, as well by the Father, as by the Queen his Mother, than half *Engliſh*, which ſhall have any part of Strangers Bloud in him.

We laugh at this, and you think that I ſpeak now of the Honour, aud of the Affection which I have to our Country above other. No, I ſpeak not of Affection, but as great Cauſes move me. For I would the Prince of this Realm, ſhould be wholly *Engliſh*, and that no other Realm had any Duty to claim of him, but that he ſhould think this his whole and only Country, and natural Soil. So ſhall he never ſet by others Countries, but by this. So ſhall he not prefer fickle Strangers

Strangers to his truſty Subjects. So ſhall he ever covet to adorn, magnifie, and exalt this Realm, and drive away no Part of his Love from it to another. Whereas if he ſhould have to his Father a Stranger, it cannot be, but he muſt have a natural Mind and Affection to this his Father's Country, and his elder Country, and either as much, or more than to *England*. Of which thing this Realm already hath had Proof enough.

The *Danes* enjoyed once this Realm too long: Of which altho' ſome of them were born here, yet ſo long as the *Danes* Blood was in them, they could never but favour the poor and barren Realm of *Denmark*, more than the rich Country of *England*.

The *Normans* after wan and poſſeſſed the Realm. So long as ever the Memory of their Blood remained, the firſt moſt, and ſo leſs and leſs, as by little and little they grew to be *Engliſh*; What did they? Keep down the *Engliſh* Nation, Magnifie the *Normans*; the rich Abbies and Priories, they gave to their *Normans*; the Chief Holds, the Noble Seignories, the beſt Biſhopricks and all. Yea, they went ſo low as to the Parſonages and Vicarages; if one were better to the Purſe than another, that a *Norman* had. Poor *Engliſh* men were glad to take their Leavings. And ſo much was our Nation kept under, that we were glad to diſſemble our Tongue, and learn theirs: Whereupon came the Proverb, *Jack would be a Gentleman if he could ſpeak* French.

But as the *Norman* Bloud and Tongue vaniſhed away, ſo by little and little, Thanks be to God, this Miſchief began to ceaſe; and the Princes by Proceſs of Time, made mere *Engliſh*, merely favoured this our Nation. And is not this a good Cauſe, think you, why I ſhould wiſh the Queens Highneſs Husband to be of our Country, and the Prince her Majeſty's Son to be a mere *Engliſh* man? For as we have ſeen by theſe, and other Proofs in Time paſt, if the Prince ſhould be a *Frenchman*, he would favour the *French*; if an *Italian*, the *Italians*; if a *Dane* or a *Swedener*, he would alſo favour his Country and Countrymen. And is not the whole, at leaſt the greateſt part of the Love which we *Engliſh* men ſhould require of him, to be derived thither? And you may be aſſured, as the People ſee the Prince part his Love, ſo will they part theirs. Which Love I would have, and wiſh always to be whole, intire, and perfect in both. That there ſhould not ariſe a Seditious Perſon to ſay, *Non eſt nobis Pars in* David, *nec Hæreditas in filio* Jeſſe. *Unuſquiſque ad Tentorium*, O Iſrael.

As for the ſecond, which is the Avoiding of Adultery and Fornication, it lyeth more in the Gift of God, and the Godlineſs of the Mind of the Married Perſon, than in the Quality of his or her Make. But will not evil Examples think you do much? And I pray you, what Nation is there, where Matrimony is ſo indifferently of each, and ſo godly of both kept, as in *England*? The *Italians*

lians be ſo jealous, that almoſt every private man there, doth not think himſelf ſure of his Wife, except he keep her cloſe in a Mew, as here in *England*, men keep their Hawks. Again, he for his part taketh ſo much Liberty, that to reſort to Courtezans, to deſcribe his Loves and Paſtimes, with others beſides his Wife, ſo it be in fine Rhythme, and wittily contrived Verſe, he taketh rather an Honour, than a Diſhonour.

Do you think her Majeſty brought up in *Engliſh* Manner, can like this ſuſpicion againſt the Wife? Or this Licentious Liberty of the Husband? And yet if her Grace ſhould take an *Italian*, this is the Manner of his Country.

The *French* man in jealouſie is not ſo much, nor doth ſo ſtreightly, as in priſon, keep his Wife, as doth the *Italian*. Mary, for his own Liberty, he will give the *Italian* no place. Their own *French* Books do ſhew no leſs: and whoſo is converſant with them, ſhall underſtand the ſame. And if her Majeſty ſhould Marry a *French* man, think you he would not have ſome great piece of his Country Manners?

The *Scots* be in ſo natural League with *France*, that he is no true *Scot*, unleſs he ſpeak and do *French*-like,

The *Spaniard* will rule, and ſtandeth all upon Honour. For other Liberty of ſuch Paſtime, he will give place to none, but go as far as any, yet he will do Penance peradventure in *Lent*, or at *Eaſter*, and whip himſelf

then in a Viſor naked; ſuppoſing to make God, and his Wife amends by it, as he thinketh; and to ſalve his fond Conſcience.

But for our *Engliſh* Manners, I dare ſay we eſteem it more honourable, and more Godly, not with ſuch Untroth to offend our Wives, than firſt to take Liberty, and then to make ſo mad Amends.

The *Dutch* men, and the *Dane*, and all ſuch Countries, as draw in Language and Conditions towards them, with the great Love which they have to Drink, do ſhadow the other Vice, and either may ſo excuſe them, that they did it overcome with Drink, or elſe indeed for two much pleaſure in the one, care leſs for the other. But what excuſe is that, with Vice to elude Vice? Or elſe what Pleaſure ſhall it be to one brought up in *Engliſh* Manners, to have an Husband, which ſhall almoſt ever be Drinking or Sleeping? Or if not ever, yet too many times ſhe muſt be fain thus to bear with him. For it is the manner of his Country, and ſo he was brought up.

Theſe be the Faults of other Nations; which tho' they ſeem ſtrange to us, yet among them at Home, Uſe, Cuſtom, and the Multitude of them that do ſo, maketh it no Shame, Reproach, nor Rebuke. Which if her Majeſty do miſlike, as I am ſure her Godly Wiſdom muſt needs cauſe her not to like them, then muſt our *Engliſh* man in this Caſe be preferred. And this for the two Parts which ye paſſed ſo lightly, and take as granted, that in them there was no Difference, between the *Engliſh* man and the Stranger. For

For the Third, that is, the Comfort, Pleaſure and Joy, which the one, otherwiſe privately ſhall take of the other, which is moſt neceſſary, for Quietneſs of Mind, and Government of the Houſe and Family, I take that there is no Compariſon. For if Likeneſs of Tongue, Behaviour, Manners, Education be thoſe which make Love, bring Fruit, and cauſe Amity, what can Diverſity of all theſe do, but bring Miſliking, Diſtruſt and Hatred? Which be very hanſome Servants, I aſſure you to go on meſſage betwixt the Husband and the Wife.

And if men be ſo naturally affectioned to their own Country, that they do not only prefer the Soil and Air thereof before other Countries, altho' they be indeed much better; as the Poets for Example, to declare the Nature of mans Affection, make *Ulyſſes*, whom they deſcribe as the wiſeſt and moſt foreſeeing of all the *Greeks*, after manifold Torments of the Sea and Land, yet to prefer the little, barren and rocky Iſland *Ithaca*, which was his own natural Country, to all other, yea to the pleaſant Country of *Campania*, where Riches did dwell, and to the rich and plenteous Country of the *Phæaces*, wherein one Grape doth ripen upon another, and Figs upon Figs; ſo that there is always plenty; but alſo the Manners, Conditions, Affections, Ordinances and Laws of his own Country, every man doth think them better, and more to be eſteemed, than thoſe of any other; as *Herodotus* doth alſo write; who

bringeth this thing for a great Argument, that *Cambyſes* was mad, and out of his right Wits, becauſe he did not eſteem the Manners and Conditions of his own Country: And *Alexander* had much ado to keep the Love of his Soldiers and Princes of *Macedony*, and was of them miſliked, as one drunken with Pride, and half out of his right Wits, becauſe he began to wear the Apparel, and to like the Manners and Behaviour of the *Perſians*: Inſomuch, that altho' he much deſired it, yet he was fain to remit that to his *Macedonians*, that they ſhould not kneel, when they ſpoke to him; Becauſe they could not be brought unto it; Forſomuch as it was not the Manner of their Country, to do ſo to their Princes: So *Julius Cæſar* durſt never call himſelf King, nor would ſuffer any Man to name or write him, *Lord* or *King*; becauſe he knew the *Romans*, otherwiſe brought up, could not abide it: We ſee when Chriſtian Religion began firſt, how earneſt the *Jews* were to bring in their Circumciſion and Ceremonies, and to lay their Cuſtoms and Manners upon our Backs: And ſo much they eſteemed them, that they thought Chriſt ſcarcely able enough without them to ſave us; and that he was no good man except he did as they did:

What ſhall I gather of this, but that if the Queens Majeſty ſhould marry a Stranger, ſhe ſhall take one, who ſhall, not only love his own Natural Country better than *England*, but alſo the Apparel, Conditions, Manners, Paſtime,

Paſtime, and Behaviour of his own Country, better than thoſe of *England*. For as it is natural for an *Engliſh* man to love *England*, and to like the Manners and Conditions of *England*, ſo it is natural to *Italians*, *French* men, *Germans*, *Danes*, Men of *Sweden*, each one to like theirs. And if it be natural ſo to do, than he is an unnatural man that doth not, and as *Herodotus* thinketh, a man to be counted rather mad and beſide himſelf than otherwiſe.

Now whether think you better, Maſter *Lovealien*, for the Queen to take a Stranger, which ſhould be counted a wiſe, natural and godly man to his Country, or no? If he be ſo, then ſhall he ſet more by his own Country, than *England*. And if he be not, then whom will you have the Queen to marry? One who neither ſhall be counted wiſe, nor natural to his Country? And if he be to that his own Country unnatural and unkind, do you think that her Highneſs ſhall find any natural Love in him, in whom his Country, as Mother who firſt brought him up, his Subjects of whom he is Lord and Patron, the Land that bred him, the Tombs of all his Anceſtors, that Country, where all his Friends and Kinsfolks dwell, that Place, which next unto God, he oweth moſt Duty unto, cannot find? He that is unkind to his own, ſeldom is found kind to another; he that is moſt Loving to his kin, hardly is to be thought for to be loving to ſtrangers. And again, if he be to be counted a wiſe, and diſcreet man, and a natural man to

to his own Country, as it is moſt likely he will be, then ſhall he covet to enrich that, and to impoveriſh ours; to honour and exalt that, tho' it be with the oppreſſing of this, to bring in the Manners and Conditions of that Country, which he liketh beſt, and to ſee if he can bring the Queens Highneſs to them; And ſo to frame her Majeſty, as they call it, to his Bow, which he thinketh beſt; not to apply to our Inſtitutes, Conditions and Manners, which be beſt indeed. Or be it in caſe they be not (as for my Part, I think they be) yet our Queen and her People brought up in them, muſt of Force and Nature think them beſt. Now, Sir, as you ſay of Apparel, Manners, Cuſtoms, Behaviour, Paſtimes, Exerciſes, Eating and Drinking, ſo ſay I alſo of Laws, (for this Education containeth all) what Contention hath been always betwixt us and Strangers, becauſe they like their Laws and Cuſtoms beſt, and we ours? They ſay we do wrong, where we do not as they do. And we again think their Laws unjuſt and unequal for us, not only in Succeſſion of Heritage, but in many other Contracts. And when they be here, we make them follow our Laws; and when we be there, we muſt do as their Cuſtoms be. Now this Contention is eaſily born; for the one part of fine force muſt give place. But if you bring this contention once into *England*, the Queens Majeſty ſhall like her own Realm, Cuſtoms and Laws; and her People will ſo deſire. Her Husband poſſibly, as he ſhall think himſelf

himſelf as great a Prince or greater, ſhall like his Laws, Cuſtoms and Ordinances better, and ſhall by all means ſtudy to bring them hither, or elſe he ſhall not think himſelf ſure, or not fully a Prince. What Turmoil ſhall that be, trow you, to the Realm, what Diſquiet to her Highneſs, what Fear, Suſpicion, and Heart-burning to her Subjects? And what better Argument will you have of this, than our Laws and Cuſtoms of *England*; which may evidently appear, (except the Acts of Parliament) to be a thing made and gathered of the Laws of the *Romans*, *Danes* and *Normans*. Which three Nations have been in paſt times Governors and Heads of the Realm. Each one for their Time bringing in as they could a piece of their Country Ordinances. And do you not think, that if King *Philip* had been long here, he would not have brought ſome piece from *Spain*? If nothing elſe, at leaſt the Inquiſition, as they call it, as he did to *Naples*. Whereby what Inſurrections and Troubles aroſe there, it is eaſie to learn by the *French* Hiſtories.

Now if it pleaſe her Majeſty to take one of her own Country, all theſe Doubts be removed. He muſt needs love his Country as his own. He muſt favour it as the Mother of him, and all his Anceſtors, as the Land wherein he took his firſt Breath, and that wherein not only the moſt, but all his Living is. And he muſt love her Majeſty as the Chief of the ſame, reverence here as the

Mother

Mother of his Country, obey her as the Head of the Realm, to the which next unto God, he oweth Duty and Love. His Manners, Cuſtoms, Paſtimes, Diets, Laws, Titles, Rights be all *Engliſh*; nothing differing from thoſe wherein the Queens Majeſty hath been brought up. But ſo much as ſhould make him have the more Honour, Admiration and Obedience to her Majeſty: and ſo much the more, becauſe he cannot, tho' he would, diſſemble or forget from what Place her Highneſs taking him, to what Place ſhe hath brought him. Whereas on the contrary ſide, the foreign Prince ſtanding upon the Reputation of his Country, may perhaps little Weigh that as a Benefit, but ſtand upon the Terms of as Great and as Good.

Yea, but whoſoever her Highneſs would Marry, he ſhall be ſuch as will frame himſelf to all theſe. Firſt, there is a Queſtion, If he can. For they ſay, *Mercury is not made of every Wood.* So every Perſon is not apt to all kind of Manners. Then the next is, If he will. For it is hard bending an Old Oak; and an old Tree long grown crooked, will not with eaſe grow the other ways. But if he will, and can learn to apply himſelf to our Manners, is it not better to take one which is already for the Purpoſe, if he may be had, than to take one which is to break anew; and to be doubted of, when you have done. And if any Breach or Diſſenſion ſhould chance to ariſe between her Highneſs and her Husband; as we ſee no Year is ſo fair, but there be ſome foul

foul and rainy Days in it; and no Peace ſo ſurely made, but that it is Wiſdom for Princes to provide againſt War, let us examine this Part. The ſtranger ſtrait ſtandeth upon his Reputation, which ſhould he yield, he is a great man born, a Prince as ſhe is, his Country as good, or as he peradventure will think, better, why ſhould he yield to his Wife? He will peradventure ſay, he hath born too much, he will bear no more. And if he cannot make his Party good here, he will ſend to his Subjects, his Friends, his Kinsfolks, his Allies. So ſhall we have her Highneſs in a ſtrange Agony, the Realm in an intricate and unſpeakable Trouble. Or if he deſpair to make his Party good, he hath a ready Paſſage home to his Country again. There will he Triumph at his Pleaſure, and have leaſure there to ſtudy upon miſchief to her Highneſs, and Realm; or at the leaſt ſo long to hold out, till the Queen's Majeſty be glad to ſue to him for a Peace, and to make Ambaſſadors for a Concord.

Can this happen, if her Majeſty Marry one here in *England*? What Refuge, what Comfort, or Succor can he have, but in her Highneſs? If her Highneſs be diſpleaſed with him, where is his Stay, his Aid, his Defence, his Garriſon, and Help to fly unto? What hath he to make any brag again to her Majeſty? No, no; It will not be. And as a man bound to the Peace in the Star-chamber in the Pain of 10000 *l.* he will be loth, yea by Countenance, to ſeek to break it, for fear of forfeiting

ing of his Bond, which he is not able to pay: So that Perſon, if natural Love and Duty cannot make him, yet this Danger and Fear ſhall make him always to apply to Love, Serve and Honour her Majeſty, becauſe the contrary bringeth to him the next Pain to Hell. And if he ſhould be faulty, no Sanctuary, no Refuge hath he to avoid the Forfeit.

This Part indeed is that which nippeth the moſt; and which you would fain ſteal away from us. With which and the other three ye joyned God as the Author of thoſe Marriages, which was before all theſe three Cauſes, or any of them were made: Wherein I do aſſure you in my mind, you did not only like a wiſe and learned man (as we all know you are) but like one that cannot diſſemble the Truth. Altho' to make for your Purpoſe, you can play the Orators part, and paſs after ſuch a ſort, that if we had not given good eye unto you, we ſhould have taken no Advantage thereat: Which muſt have been counted rather our Folly in this part, then any thing elſe: Then thoſe Marriages which be made for theſe three Grounds, and for theſe three Cauſes only; that is, the Continuance of Succeſſion, the avoiding of Fornication, the hearty Love growing upon the Vertuous and Godly Diſpoſition each of others, and Comfort and Pleaſure, which they look to have in that Fellowſhip of Life and Community of all Thoughts, Pleaſures and Diſpleaſures, be the godly Marriages, and thoſe which moſt commonly God will Bleſs, and upon whom

whom ſmalleſt Repentance doth follow. And that Man or Woman, which for theſe three Cauſes eſpecially do take their Mate, ſeem to have God before their eyes, and to have a godly Mind and Will, and to take the juſt and right way: And he or ſhe that taketh any of the other three, which is Honour, Power, and Riches, to be their Guide, and chief Cauſe, and hath not the chief regard to the other three beforenamed, (which you call Eſſential) leaveth God out of the way, and taketh ſome other tickle or frail things, the Devil or the World by moſt Likelihood, to be his Broker and Marriage-maker. So that her Highneſs by your School and Teaching, having firſt in her Mind the Continuation of her Poſterity with the fear of God, is to conſider and make Election of one, whom her Majeſty can Fancy, by the ſtable and profound judgment of her moſt excellent Wiſdom to be ſuch an one, as whom ſhe ſhall have always a Joy to behold; a Comfort to have at home, a moſt ſure Truſt abroad, an Helper in Adverſity, a Pleaſure in Proſperity, whom for his Wiſdom and Dexterity, Gentleneſs, Faithfulneſs and Affability, and other noble Vertues and Qualities, her Majeſty ſhall think worthy to be preferred above all others; and whom ſhe ſhall not think for a while to be ſo, or ſo for a Show, but to be ſo indeed, and (ſomuch as mans Inſtability can ſuffer) to be ſo for ever. Wherein as it appeareth little regard, or nothing is to be had of Advancement of Riches, Honour or Power

For

For whoſoever hath God on his ſide, and God his Guide in Marriage, muſt need be counted to have all theſe.

And hitherto you ſee we have proved the *Engliſh* man, for all theſe Purpoſes to be far above the Stranger. And if this Election be to be had of the man, becauſe for ſuch a prey no Craft of Wit, or Engine of man ſhall be left unaſſayed; the next Care is to ſee that her Highneſs take not a Glaſs for a Diamond, or Gilt for true Gold. And for that, let us ſee where her Highneſs may ſooneſt be deceived. The Stranger either her Majeſty ſeeth not, or ſeeth but for the time of his Wooing. How then? he doth it by Ambaſſadors, and moveth it by Letters: he maketh his Friends to commend him. He ſpareth for no Gifts. What Judgment is all this of the man? Will his Ambaſſadors tell any of his Faults? And will they diſcloſe any of his Vices? Will they open any of his Imperfections? Nay all that muſt be hidden within a Ninefold Stone Wall. But they increaſe with words his Vertues (if he have any) above the Skies; They praiſe his Stature, Beauty, Strength, Body, as much as their Wits can extend unto. If he have any Strength at all, they make him *Achilles* or *Hector*; if he have ever been at Wars, he is as good a Captain as *Alexander* or *Julius Cæſar*; if he be not altogether a ſimple or ignorant man, he is as wiſe as *Ulyſſes*, and as eloquent as *Neſtor*; if he be not altogether deformed, he is as fair as *Paris*, or *Nereus*; if he be a Prince not altogether

together a Beggar he hath the Riches of *Cræſus*, and Magnificence of *Solomon*; if any doubt of his Inconſtancy, Haſtineſs, or any other Vice, he is as continent as *Xenocrates*, as meek and patient as any Lamb, and more gentle than ever was *Pomponius Atticus*. This ſhall the Queen hear to whom the Suit is made; this the Ambaſſadors ſhall ſay. This the Commender ſhall write; yea, and if need be, ſome ſhall be hired at home to help to bear a part of this Song. And is this a ſure Proof trow you, for her Majeſty to adventure her Perſon for a continual either Joy or Torment, as it ſhall happen?

Well, but for a more ſure Trial of his Perſonage, ye ſhall have a Picture brought, as they will ſwear, *Ad Vivum*. Of which if ye ſee Two, not one ſhall be like the other. And if they be, what is the Picture to the man? And yet I heard not many years ago of a certain Lady, who having the Picture ſent unto her of one whom ſhe never ſaw, who ſhould be her Husband, was ſo enamoured thereon, and ſo raviſhed that ſhe languiſhed for Love, and was in a manner out of her Wits for his long tarrying and abſence. But I ween hot Love was ſoon cold, and not long after repented. But what other Proofs can you have of him, that dwelleth not within four or five hundred, or a thouſand Miles, or more of the Realm? And if he do come hither, he cometh but his Wooing Time. All which Time he muſt be Liberal, Magnificent, Plentiful, Princely, and make a Shew of all

his Vertues, altho' it be but for that while. How long I beſeech you can a man diſſemble his Nature, till he come to his Purpoſe? *Nero* the Five firſt Years of his Empire, was the beſt of all Princes. All thoſe whom you have named ſo unkind to their Wives were not ſuch all that Time that they did Woe, I ſuppoſe. For if they had been, I know thoſe Marriages had never been made nor repented. Thus your Stranger cometh to be ſeen, but as it were in a Viſor, ſcarcely ſo well as if one ſhould ſpy him out of a Window. So that what Diſeaſes, Infirmities or Imperfections ſoever the Stranger ſhall have either of Body or Mind, the Queens Majeſty cannot know them but by Hear ſay. And ſo as I have ſaid, ſhe ſhall hardly or never know them, or elſe by Aſſaying; and that is when it is too late to repent.

The *Engliſh* man is here at home, not his Picture or Image, but himſelf. His Stature, Colour, Complexion, and Behaviour is to be ſeen face to face. And not only that, but his Education and bringing up, his Study, Exerciſe and what things he hath a Delight in, what things he doth refuſe, every Fault, Imperfection, Deformity and whatſoever ſhould be to his Hindrance, is apparent and clear, both to the Ears and Eyes of Time paſt and preſent; and may be tryed, and as it were pierced and looked clean thorow, what he is diſpoſed to, and what he is like for to be, almoſt ſo well as if there were a Window made in his Breaſt, as *Momus* did require. Then, if

if there be any ſuch Qualities, and Perfection in any of our Nation, which her Majeſty can like, were it not more to be wiſhed for her Highneſs to make her Choice there where her own ſelf is Judge, and the Trier of the Truth, where her own Eyes, her wiſe and Princely Eſtimation giveth the Sentence; than to build upon Hear-ſay, and in ſo weighty a Matter, to buy as the common Proverb is, *A Pig in the Poke.* With whether of the two I pray you is it moſt like, that her Majeſty ſhall lead her Life moſt quietly, moſt joyfully, and moſt to her hearts Contentation, moſt agreeing to the Nature of her Country, Stature and Comparature of his Body, ſuch as her ſelf being judge cannot be diſpraiſed; the Qualities of the Mind, which ſhe doth eſteem worthy ſuch a Perſonage, the Manners, ſuch as her Grace can beſt agree with; or elſe him whom ſhe never ſaw before, whoſe Tongue is not like to hers, the Manners of the Country, and the Education ſtrange from hers, whoſe People is of another Condition than hers; for whoſe Corporature, Lineaments of Body, Behaviour of Manners, and Conditions of Mind, ſhe muſt truſt to others, and put in hazzard and adventure, whether after ſhe ſhall like them or not? Of this you ſee, Mr. *Lovealien*, that in your three firſt chief and Eſſential Points, which you not only made principal, but you joyned with God, I can nothing agree with you. Now will I come to the incident Matters, where ye think to have marvellous Advantage.

And *First* for *Honour*. In the which ye talked ſo, as tho' the Queens Majeſty, if ſhe ſhould Marry any Nobleman of *England*, it ſhould be counted a Diſparagement. And herein you bring in ſuch Ladies and Dutcheſſes as have Married with their own men, wherein I muſt needs confeſs that there is a Diſparagement: for that theſe Men were not Noble by Birth; and therefore not meet to Match with ſuch Noble Women. But for the Queens Majeſty to Marry one of her Noblemen, is no diſparagement at all. Neither is the Compariſon like. And in this caſe ye do make me to marvel at you, and to doubt what you do think of the Nobility of this Realm of *England*; as tho' they are not as Noble as the Nobility is of other Realms. Is not a Duke of *England*, an Earl, a Baron, and their Sons as much to be counted Noble, as they be in other Realms? That I think you cannot deny. How then ſhould the Queens Majeſty be more diſparaged, Marrying here one of that Degree than there? For methinks you do ſo ſpeak, that if her Highneſs Married a Duke, or a Nobleman of another Realm, then it were no Diſparagement. Which if you grant, then either grant this alſo, or ſhew the Diverſity. Ye will ſay, becauſe here they be all her Highneſs Subjects. So ſurely they be. But her Subjects be of divers Sorts and Degrees. Whereof the Nobility is as the Right Arm of the Prince, the Glory and Beauty of the Realm, the [Root and] Nurſery of her Highneſs Stock, and Family, Offſprings

ſprings of Kings and Queens of *England*, and whom her Highneſs, and all her Progenitors, calleth always in her Letters and Writings, and common Talk, *Couſins*. Which word *Couſins* betokeneth, that in mingling of that Bloud there can be no diſparagement. And ſo much as you would ſeem in your Talk to embaſe that Order and Eſtate, ſo much you muſt needs appear to abaſe and contemn the Queens Majeſty's own Bloud, to whom they be, and always have been accounted Allied, and as Couſins.

And is it a Diſparagement for the Queen of *England* to Marry an *Engliſh* man? Why more than to the King of *England* to Marry an *Engliſh* woman? The Authority is all one. And as well is the *Engliſh* woman a Subject to the Crown, as the *Engliſh* man. Do you think that King *Henry* VIII. her Majeſty's Father was diſparaged, when he Married her Highneſs Mother, or Queen *Jane*, or Queen *Katharine Par*; And that he was always diſparaged ſave once, when he Married his Brothers Wife, which was a Stranger? And think you, that all the reſt of the Kings of *England*, of whom a great number Married their own Subjects, were Diſparaged? Methinks this is a ſtrange and unnatural Opinion. If it be an Honour to be a Kings Wife, or a Queens Husband, not only to the Perſon, but alſo to the Region, out of the which they come, no Country may juſtlier crave that Honour, nor to none the Prince doth more juſtly owe that Love, than

to her own Country, where ſhe was born, and where ſhe is Queen.

And if ye would be loth to ſuffer, and would ſpend your Blood, rather than this Realm ſhould be Tributary, or Subject to any other; yea, you would not gladly ſee that any foreign Prince ſhould do ſo much here, or be ſo much ſet by here, and have ſo much Power, as your Natural Prince and Queen; And if you may juſtly call that a Diſparagement, when this Realm, which is the Head of Nations round about, is put under the Girdle of another; Who maketh more Diſparagement, I pray you, the foreign Prince to be the Queens Husband, or the *Engliſh* Subject?

But you are of the Opinion as I perceive, that *Eraſmus* ſpeaketh of, that thinketh it not comely for a Kings Daughter to be coupled but with a King, or a Kings Son. To whom he anſwereth as well as if he had ſtudied this our Caſe. "This is private mens Affection, ſaith he, fromwhich Princes ought "to flee as faſt as they may. If ſhe Marry, "ſaith he, to one, who is not of ſuch Power "as ſhe, or her Father, what is that to the Pur- "poſe, if that he be for the Realm more ex- "pedient? It is more Honour to the Prince to "neglect that foreign Dignity of the Mar- "riage, than to prefer her Womanly Affection "to the Profit of the Realm. So far is that great, learned and wiſe man from your Opinion, that he calleth the Marriage with Strangers *Uneven Marriages*, and as a man would

would say *Disparagements*, when he saith, there lacketh both that Love and Dearness, which the common Country, Likeness of Body and Mind doth bring; and that Natural, and true, and uncounterfeit Affection which those Marriages have, which are made between them that have all one Country. He saith also, as I have said before, that hardly the Country acknowledge them that are born of those uneven Marriages for their own, or that those that are so born, cannot with all their Hearts love their Country: but as their Blouds be mingled out of divers Countries; so their Love is but as it were half dealed and parted in twain. And did not this man, think you, as a Prophet, declare that thing which we did see of late in Queen *Mary*? Did not her vehement Love toward *Spain* and *Spaniards* declare, that she was but half *English* as it were in Affection? so that mingled Bloud in her Nature could not hide it self.

And if the Case standeth so, and *Honour* be so much to be lookt unto, as ye will have it, better it were for her Highness, and more honourable, as it may appear evidently, to make one of her Noblemen by that means, equal to a foreign Prince, who shall always be ready to obey and Honour her; than to take a foreign Prince from abroad, who shall look to command, and be her Superior.

And because that Poetry is reckoned of a great learned man to be the eldest Philoso[phy] (for

(for long before the Philosophy of *Thales* and *Socrates*, began most Ancient Writers called *Poets*, by fained examples, or else by Deeds done, described like Fables, did instruct men; and cause the witty Reader in them to see the good success, and happy Fortune of Well-doings, and the evil Success and Inconveniences which follow of Evil-doings: that so we might have as it were, shewed before our Eyes, what to follow, and what to eschew) let us weigh and consider what they write of this Matter, and what Examples they make of those Heroical and Noble Women, who forsaking their own Country men, fell into the Love of Strangers. How good, how true, how Loving, I pray you, were your Strangers to them? Was not that lusty and valiant Warriour *Jason*, soon gotten, and most unkindly, and uncourteously did forsake *Medea* of *Colchos*, who not onely saved his Life, but for his Love, lost her Country; and to save her Lovers Life, did abandon the Lives of her Father and Brother. How long was *Theseus* of *Athens* kind to *Ariadne* King *Minos*'s Daughter, who saved his Life, else to have been destroyed in the Labyrinth? How true was *Demophon* to *Phillis* of *Thracia*, *Hercules* to *Omphale* of *Lydia*, or *Æneas* to *Dido* of *Carthage*? All these Queens or Queens Daughters, who contemning the Noblemen of their own Country, as unequal unto them, chose these lusty and courragious Knights, Strangers, Kings or Kings Sons, to be their Husbands, Men of another

ther Countrey, Language and Behaviour, than theirs.

I would not wiſh her Majeſty, but her Highneſs's Enemies, ſuch Aid, Help, Honour, Riches and Contentation of Mind as thoſe Noble Women had of thoſe Marriages by the Deſcription of the Poets. Therefore *Sophonisba* wife to *Syphax* was worthy Praiſe as a wiſe and ſtout Lady, who was content to put her ſelf into the hands of *Maſiniſſa*. For ſo much as he was a *Numidian* born in the ſame Country of *Africa*, that ſhe was. But rather than ſhe would come into the Power and Hand of the *Romans*, being to her Strangers, ſhe choſe with a Draught of Poiſon to rid her ſelf, both from her Life, and from her Care.

Well, I had rather in this Matter *Bene ominari*. And therefore I will bring no more Examples out of Hiſtories, as ye know well enough I can, of the Succeſſes of ſuch Marriages. But well I wot our Country by all Likelihood, rather deſireth that her Highneſs had one of this Realm, than a Stranger. It is not long ago, ſince there was a Stir for that Matter that coſt a good Sort of Gentlemens Lives. Do I forget, think you, what argument of Authority you uſed againſt my Friend here, Mr. *Spitewedd*? Do you then remember the Motion of our Speaker, and the Requeſt of the Commons Houſe, what they did, and could have moved then; and how they ran all one way, like the Hounds after the Hare, High and Low, Knights, and

Eſquires,

Eſquires, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, ſuch as were of the Privy Council, and others far and near? Whom preferred they, I pray you, then, if they ſhould have had their Wiſh? The Stranger or the *Engliſh* man? And think you they did not conſider her Majeſty's Honour, as well as you? Do you ſuppoſe that they knew not as well, what was Diſparagement as you? Whoſe Judgments if you would have to be eſteemed ſo much, as appears in your Argument you would, and as I think you will even now Subſcribe unto, this Matter is concluded, and your Diſparagement is gone.

And where you ſaid, that the Marriage within the Realm ſhould bring in Envy, Strife, Contention and Debate; and for to prove the ſame you ſhew forth the Marriage that King *Edward* IV. made with the Lady *Katharine Grey*, wherein followed ſuch Diſſenſion, Cruelty, Murther and Deſtruction of the Young Prince and his Brother; the ſequel I grant: Mary, if you do conſider the Matter well, ye do alledge *Non Cauſam, tanquam Cauſam.* As for the Stomach and Grief of the Earl of *Warwick* againſt the King, I think indeed that Marriage was the Cauſe: Not becauſe the Queen was an *Engliſh* Woman, but becauſe the King having ſent the Earl as his Ambaſſadour to conclude a Marriage for him: Which the King did afterward refuſe to accompliſh. And this the Earl thought not only to touch the Kings Honour, but alſo his: and ſought therefore the Reveng-

Revenging. Which he would as well have done, and he had the ſame Cauſe, if he had concluded it in *England*, and after the King refuſed it. So that it was not the Place, or Perſon, but the breaking of the Promiſe, and diſavouching of his Ambaſſage, and the touching of the Earls Honour herein, that made the ſtrife between the Earl and the King. For the reſt, for the Beheading of the Earl *Rivers* and others, the Marriage was not the Cauſe, but the Deviliſh Ambition of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the Duke of *Buckingham*. Which may appear by the ſequel. For the one reſted not till he had the Crown, nor the other till he loſt his Head. And I pray you what Kin was the Lord *Haſtings* to the Queen? And yet he loſt his Head, even then. King *Henry* VI. Married in *France*. And did not that Marriage make Diſſenſion enough in *England*? And for all that the Queen was a *French* Woman, was not her Husband, and her Son, by the Deſire of the Crown, which the Duke of *York* had, both bereaved of their Crown and Lives?

So that you ſee that neither Marriage within the Realm, maketh theſe Miſchiefs, nor yet the Marriages without can let them; but Wiſdom, Foreſight, and good Governance, and chiefly the Aid and Grace of God. But it is a great thing to be conſidered, the Riches, Power and Strength, which ſhall be by Marriage of a Foreign Prince, as well for the Eſtabliſhment and well keeping of her Highneſs, againſt Inſurrections and Conſpiracies which,

which might chance here within the Realm; and for Invaſions, War, Battle to be made by, or againſt Princes abroad, and without the Realm. And here you ſeem to triumph, as tho' all were yours, and as tho' it were a thing clear, and without all Controverſie.

But I pray you, let us weigh this Matter. Do you think ſo much Riches, and ſo much ſtrength gotten unto the Realm, when ſhe ſhall Marry a Foreign Prince? Do you praiſe ſo much Queen *Mary* for Marrying King *Philip*? Indeed he is a Prince, as you ſay, as great in Birth and Poſſeſſion, as any Chriſtian Prince is at this day. But what was *England* the better for his Marriage? We kept *Calais* above Two Hundred and odd Years in the *French* Ground, in deſpight of all the *French* Kings, which have been ſince that Time, in all the Civil Wars, and the moſt pernicious Diſſenſion, that ever was, either in King *Henry* IV. *Henry* VI. *Richard* III. or King *Henry* VII. their times. And in King *Henry* VIII. his Time, we wan alſo *Boloign* and *Boloignois*. And did the Encreaſe of Strength in his Marriage, make us to loſe in this Time? I do aſſure you for my Part, I never ſaw, nor I think if I ſhould have lived this Five Hundred Years heretofore paſt, I ſhould not have ſeen at any time *England*, weaker in Strength, Men, Money and Riches, than it was in the Time when we wrote King *Philip* and Queen *Mary*, King and Queen of ſo many Kingdoms, Dukedoms, Marchionats and Countries, *&c.* For all thoſe jolly Titles, our Hearts, our Joy,

our

our Comfort was gone. As much Affectionate as you note me to be to my Country, and Countrymen, I assure you I was then ashamed of both. They went to the Musters with Kerchiefs on their Heads. They went to the Wars, hanging down their Looks. They came from thence as men dismayed and forelorn. They went about their Matters as men amazed, that wist not where to begin or end, And what marvel was it, as my Friend Mr. *Agamus* saith? Here was nothing but Fining, Heading, Hanging, Quartering and Burning. Taxing, Levying, and Pulling down of Bulwarks at home, and beggering and loosing our Strong Holds abroad. A few Priests, men in White Rochets ruled all. Who with setting up of Six foot Roods, and rebuilding of Rood-lofts, thought to make all Cocksure.

And is this the surety we shall look for, the Defence we shall find, the Aid we shall hope of, if the Queen's Majesty take a Foreign Prince to her Husband? And what Decay came at that Time to the Substance of the Realm, and Riches both publick and private, it would be no less Pity to think, than it is needless to tell unto you especially. For first, what Debt the Realm was left in, to be paid beyond the Seas, you heard it declared by Mr. *Secretary* in the first Parliament of the Queens Majesty; and how much it did exceed the Debt of King *Edward* VI. What was owing also to the Subjects within the Realm. It was marvellous to hear, how the private

private Substance was diminished: Part might be seen by the Subsidy Books. And in the first Parliaments of King *Philip* and Queen *Mary*, You heard a Burgess of *London* make plain Declaration, and proof, that the City of *London* alone was worse in Substance, in those Five Years by 300000 *l.* than it was at the Death of the late King *Edward*. And if you will say that King *Philip*, being so occupied with continual Wars, in which the Emperor his Father left him, could not be rich: but her Majesty may take one that shall bring in great Wealth and Treasure, and whom his Friends have left very rich: This may be done I do not deny, altho' it be unlikely that any Prince would be so unnatural to Rob, Spoil, make bare, poor and naked his own Country or Realm, to enrich this. But if he should do, doth he not, think you, look to be a Gainer by it? I think he doth not mean to cast his Money away; but possibly he may look for the greater Usury, the longer he tarrieth for it, and do as some men do, adventure a little to get a great Treasure.

But grant that he looketh for nothing. Even for mere Love and Royalty, he will bestow the Money here in the Realm, he will enrich the Queen's Majesty, he will frankly spend all. What shall he do when all is spent? We see the Treasure of King *Henry* VII. All the Treasure which *Maximilian* left to the Emperour *Charles*, and which came to him, out of the *Indies*, and other Countries, which I take to be as rich to his Coffers as the *Indies*,

dies, had an end. That which in long time is ſlowly gathered, is, if Occaſion ſo ſerve, ſoon ſpent and conſumed. I pray God then this ſudden Riches, make not again a long Repentance; this ſudden joy a long Rueing; this ſpeedy enriching, a longer Taking. Whereas if we were content with our own, as we know the Coming in, ſo we meaſure the ſpending. If we will ſay that Yearly there ſhall come in the Revenues of that Realm, which ſhall ſupply again the empty Coffers: Firſt, I will ask you, if that Realm you do ſpeak of is kept with nothing? And where that Realm ſhall ſtand that hath no Enemies near it, no Garriſon on the Frontiers, no Soldiers to be paid, no Officers to be kept, no Charge to go out. I know few Regions, but all that ever can come of them ordinarily can do no more, but keep their own ordinary Charges. For I ſee when they have any extraordinary thing, as War, or Marriage to be made, the Princes are conſtrained to ſeek extraordinary means, by Subjects Love, and other Devices, to bear them. I ſee this, in *France*, in *Italy*, in *Spain*. The rich *Indies*, be ſo rich to the King of *Portugal*, for all that He is only the Merchant of Spices to all *Europe*. Yet now almoſt every man doth ſee, that he is ſcarcely with the Revenues of them, able to bear their Charges. As *Milain* and *Naples*, ſo the Charges of keeping them is no doubt incredible to him, that hath not marked nor known it. And the Accounts truly made, I aſſure you, ſmall

Gains

Gains King *Philip* hath of them. And if the Prince being away from thence remaining, the Enemies ſhould invade the Realm you ſpeak of, ſhould it not be neceſſary, trow you, to employ that Revenue, and more, upon it? Or if the People ſeeing their Treaſure ſo waſted, and their Realm impoveriſhed, ſhould repine at it, as ſome Countries would do, and refuſe to pay any more; or if any other in his Abſence ſhould take upon him to uſurp the State, and pretend ſome Titles, (as we ſee to Ambitious Heads there never lack Titles, either of Kindred or Commonwealth, to Claim to themſelves the Soveraignty,) what Gain ſhall be looked for from thence? Nay, what Charges ſhall we be put to by it? Either we muſt abandon that Realm, which were the greateſt Diſhonour that could be; or elſe employ all our Force and Treaſure, to the Recovery thereof. Either of which, if they ſhould chance (as few Realms be long without them) then caſting our Cards aright, we ſhall find very ſmall Advantage.

And for Proof of this which I ſay, we will but examine your own Examples. *Mary* the *Scotch* Queen was highly advanced, you ſay, to the Dolphin; who afterwards was the *French* King, called *Francis* the Second. But what Riches came by that Match to the Realm of *Scotland*? Ask the *Scots*; who for the great Oppreſſion which they ſuffered by the *French*, and the great impoveriſhing of the poor Realm, were fain to demand

mand aid of us their old Enemies; and yet in their Diſtreſs their moſt ſure Friends, and faithful Neighbours. And then what Aid had ſhe of the *French* I pray you, when for the Miſgovernment of them, the Subjects of her purchaſed Realm, ſhe had almoſt loſt the Government of her own natural, and, as I would call it, Patrimonial Realm, which came to her by Inheritance from her Anceſtors.

We will come to the third *Mary*, the Daughter and Heir of *Charles* the *Hardy*, Duke of *Burgundy*; becauſe here you think to have your ſtrongeſt Bulwark; ſhe Marrying *Maximilian* the Emperor's Son, I cannot deny but her Poſterity is now in divers places of Chriſtendom, the chief Rulers and Governors. But I will deny that her Country of *Burgundy* is in ſo good an Eſtate, as it was in her Fathers time. For then it was Head and Chief, but now it is Subject to the Houſe of *Auſtrich*. Then the *Burgundians* were reckoned the hardieſt, and moſt valiant Warriors, now be the *Spaniards*, *Almains*, and *Italians* before them. Their Riches were then a Terror to *France*, a Marvel to all the World; now it is but a little Patch to King *Philip*'s Power. And if they were not as well taxed and aſſeſſed in the Emperor *Charles*, and this Mighty and Puiſſant King *Philip*'s Time as ever they were, the *Burguudians* were much to Blame to groan ſo faſt. Take *Antwerp* apart, and a few ſmall things by the Sea ſide, which have had another Cauſe of Increaſe, let us

ſee if all the reſt of the Cities be not greatly in Decay, and in far worſer State than they were, when they had but a Duke to their Head. As when one River falleth into another they do increaſe indeed, and make larger Water, but yet the leſs River thereby loſeth both his Name and ſtrength. And the biggeſt River that is falling into the Sea looſeth his Force and Power, and is ſalted as well as the reſt be. So a Kingdom ſwalloweth up a Dukedom adjoyning, and the bigger Kingdom the leſs. And if they fall both into the Lap of a Mighty great Monarch, as the Emperor of *Rome*, of the *Turks*, or of the *Perſians*, ſecurity they may have, but their Honour and Liberty is clean loſt; whether Conqueſt giveth it them, or Marriage. Howbeit of theſe the Empire of the *Romans* doth leaſt oppreſs, and leaveth moſt Liberty: Which is not for fault of Will, but of Strength. What intended *Charles* the laſt Emperor to do to the *Almains*? What attempted his Predeceſſors againſt the *Swiſſers*? What hath he brought to paſs at *Naples* and *Milan*? And what did King *Francis* to *Piedmont*?

Theſe may be Mirors and Examples to us to conſider, and ſee what Advancement it would be to us, to fall into the Hands and Power of a Prince that is a Stranger, and Stronger than We be.

Now if you will ſay, there may be Covenants made, Bonds taken; and for the more ſurety, by the Parliaments of both Realms, the Conditions of Matrimony may be

be enacted, and ſuch Aſſurances deviſed, as there may be no doubt of any Inconveniences to follow: Indeed this is a Device, but I pray you, let me tell you of a Queſtion that not long ago a Baron of *England* moved in the Parliament to this Purpoſe. And if you can aſſoil it, you ſhall move me much. If the Bands be broken between the Husband and the Wife, either of them being Princes and Soveraigns in their own Country, who ſhall ſue the Bands? Who ſhall take the Forfeit? Who ſhall be their Judge? And what ſhall be the Advantage? If you will not Anſwer, I will tell you: Diſcord, Diſſenſion, War, Bloodſhed, and either extream Enmity, or elſe the one Part muſt at length break and yield. If you will ſay, Tuſh! He will not do againſt his Promiſe; he will not break his Accord and Agreement; he will ſo much conſider his Honour and Love, that what he hath once ſaid, he will always ſtand to. Well, granting that, I pray you, what needs any Bonds? Whereupon cometh this Miſtruſting, but upon Fear? So long as Love laſteth, and he ſtandeth in that Mind in which he was, when he made the Bonds, I my ſelf do not doubt, but he will keep them, becauſe he ſo mindeth. And then the Bonds be ſuperfluous. But if his Mind fortune to alter or change; and ſo he miſliketh the Conditions whereto he hath agreed, and will not keep the Covenants, what ſhall theſe Bonds avail? To which you have neither Place of Judgment, Perſons of Plaintiff or Defendant,

and leaſt of all a competent Judge to compel the wrong Doer to abide right. And if it were done, what pleaſure ſhall the Compelled Party have of the Compeller? Or what Truſt can the Compeller have of the Compelled? Nay, Bonds, Covenants, Indentures and Conditions, be far from the free Love, Sincerity and hearty Doings of Love; when the Hearts, Minds and Bodies be united: Can there be a ſurer Bond than that which maketh them all one? And if they be not ſo, then they be two; and what two? Marry, Princes, which know to Rule, and not to be Ruled, and who may not abide to be compelled or enforced? Nor is it ſo meet that otherwiſe they ſhould, but only by Perſwaſion; nor indeed cannot without Battle or Bloodſhed. I think an Article comprized in the Conditions by Act of Parliament with King *Philip* was, that we ſhould not for his Cauſe enter into War with *France*. But yet I trow we did, to our no ſmall Loſs. And you heard rehearſed by *Agamus*, how well *Jaques de la Narde* kept his Bonds to Queen *Jane* of *Naples*.

But let us leave all this, and have reſpect only to our Gain, and that the Queens Majeſty ſhall have her Honour, and Power marvellouſly advanced, and her Dominion enlarged into I cannot tell how many Miles. This is the fair ſhew: Look what followeth. The greater Monarchy, the larger Frontiers; the more Garriſons, the more intricate Titles, the more ready occaſions for War. Which

muſt

must needs be the Consuming of Money, of disquieting her Subjects, of emptying the Realm of able men. We had two Emperors of *Rome*, came out of the Isle when it was *Britain*, *Constant* and *Constantine*. This you will say was a great Honour to the Realm, that a Nobleman of *England*, should hold the Crown of the Empire: Not now, when it is in manner but little, but then, when to be Emperor of *Rome*, was to rule all the World. And so would I say too, if I did not consider as well the sequel thereof, as the first fair shew. For in taking the Power from hence, they took so many of the good Warriors, expert Captains, tall and likely men; that they left the *Britains* so weak, that the *Scots*, and Princes over them, overcame them in every Place. They were fain to ask Aid of the *Saxons*; And of them who came for their Aid, they and their Posterity for ever were driven down, out of the whole Country of *England* into the barren Mountains of *Wales*. King *Edward* III. a Prince most valiant and Victorious, with those Victories in *France*, and continual carrying over of men, to people such Towns, Cities and Fortresses as he had won there, did make the People here at home so thin, and those that were left so desirous rather to spoil than to labour, that from the Twentieth of his Reign, to the 26*th*. or 27*th*. he and all the Council of the Realm were most troubled and occupied, how to cause the Fields of *England* to be Tilled; as may appear by the Acts of Parliament made in that

ſpace. And if this Diſadvantage be in Victory, what ſhall be in the Loſs? If it be thus in Conquering, what ſhall it be in being Overcome?

As for ſuch Wars as we have for our own to do, I have not ſeen it, neither read, but with our own Nation, we have been able to man them well enough; and have not uſed, or have not much been helped with the Power of other Princes allied. Which thing alſo *Niccolao Michiavelli* hath Noted. And read you the Hiſtories, and you ſhall ſee that when we had moſt help of them, then leaſt was done. And firſt of *France*, at *Agincourt*, at *Creſſy*, and at *Poitiers*, wherein the greateſt Battails were foughten, and the moſt noble Victories obtained, there was but our own Nation, and the King of *England*'s Subjects. King *Edward* I. in ſo often conquering all *Scotland* uſed but his own Subjects. And hitherto ſith the Time of *William* the Conqueror, we have, thanks be to God, been able to defend our ſelves againſt the *French* and the *Scots*, always allied together, without the Help of Foreign Aid. So that we have at the end ſaved our Realm, and rather gotten of them than loſt. And King *Henry* VIII. Marrying at home, did not only ſave, but alſo got both in *France* and *Scotland*; and kept alſo that which he had gotten. Queen *Mary*, having by Marriage all theſe Helps, which you ſo greatly praiſe, ſo far ſhe was from getting now, that ſhe loſt that

which

which was gotten by her Anceſtors, and had been kept by the *Engliſh* ſo long.

But becauſe we ſhall better, and more near at hand ſee the Advantage of heaping Realms together, King *Edward* III. and the Black Prince got almoſt all *France*. His next Succeſſor therefore muſt needs have his Power marvellouſly encreaſed. So may it appear. For tho' he were confeſſed the right Heir, yet a Nobleman of this Realm of *England* bereaved him of both *France* and *England*. King *Henry* V. again drove the *Dauphin* to a very ſtreight Room in *France*. Wherefore by your Reaſon his Power muſt be marvellouſly augmented, which he did leave to his Son. Did not a Duke of his Realm diſpoſſeſs him of his Crown, for all the help that Queen *Margaret* his Wife, and Daughter to *Reigner* Duke of *Anjou*, and King of *Sicily*, *Naples*, and of *Jeruſalem*, could bring from her Father, and all thoſe four Realms, to the Aid of her Husband, or the Prince her Son. So that for that Matter, the *Italian* Proverb ſeemeth true, *Chi troppe abbraccia poco ſtringe, He that embraceth too much, holdeth faſt but a little.*

Now for Encreaſe of Riches, let us go as near. Many would judge that the getting and keeping of *Bulloign* and *Bulloignois* in *France*, now in the Time of King *Henry* VIII. and the obtaining and holding of *Haddington*, and the *Peethes*, and a great Part of the *Lowdian* in *Scotland*, ſhould have brought in great Riches to this Realm. It was that

almoſt beggered *England*. For thereby our fine Gold was conveyed away, our good Silver appeared not; our Maſſy and old Plate was melted. And every man ſeeth, that not only our good Coin was wonderfully conſumed, but that which was left, pitiouſly altered and made worſe. The Gold much debaſed: and at the laſt for Sterling Silver, we had two parts of Copper, and ſcarce the Third part true metal remaining in the Coin. Which now, without any ſuch Revenues, either out of *France* or *Scotland*, thanks be to God and the Queens Highneſs, beginneth well to amend again. Whether think you King *Henry* IV. which had but *England*, left his Kingdom richer to his Son King *Henry* V. than he with all his Conqueſts, to his Son King *Henry* VI. who had nothing in *France* but *Calais*? Did not King *Henry* VII. leave more Riches in his Coffers to King *Henry* VIII. who Conquered both in *France* and *Scotland*, than he left to King *Edward* VI. And do you not perceive that Queen *Mary*, who wrote that ſhe was Queen of ſo many Kingdoms, Dutcheſs of ſo many Dukedoms, Marchioneſs and Counteſs of ſo many Marchionats, and Earldoms, *&c.* did not leave leſs Riches in her Coffers, and Wealth in the Realm at the Time of her Death, than ever any of her Progenitors did.

My Maſters, ſay what you will, and call me as it pleaſe you, either Enemy to Strangers, the Pattern or Idea of an old *Engliſh* man, *Hens.-friend*, or what you liſt, I ſay and

and ſee that it is *ENGLAND* alone that ſhall make her Highneſs ſtrong; *ENGLAND*, and no other her true Patrimony, Riches, Power and Strength, whereto ſhe muſt truſt; *ENGLAND* her Highneſs native Country alone, being well tilled and Governed, ſhall be better to her Majeſty in the End, than all thoſe Empires, Kingdoms, Dukedoms and Marchionates, and other Rabblements of gay Titles, which are but Wind and Shadows, and Makers of Cares and Coſts. Which are no Profit, but rather Hindrance and Loſs, as at laſt will be proved, and as you may perceive by theſe Diſcourſes, her Predeceſſors have proved. Now Mr. *Philoxenus*, or *Lewelyn*, or *Lovealien* (for I thank my Godfather neither you nor I can lack Names) I have ſufficiently, as methinketh, anſwered you to your Six Parts, Cauſes or Occaſions, which you make of Marriage.

You ſee, that for *Succeſſion*, that Prince ſhall be to the Realm moſt loving, moſt tender, and moſt natural, which hath both his Parents mere *Engliſh*. And ſuch an one hath *England* moſt cauſe to Love, who is mere Hers, of whom no other Region may claim any part. You ſee that for *Pleaſure*, *Comfort* and *Joy*, which in Matrimony the one ſhould have of the other, the *Engliſh* man for Likeneſs of Manners, for naturalneſs of Education, yea, and becauſe he is moſt tryed and beſt known, is moſt likely to be more kind, loving and natural, than the Stranger; who is both different in Tongue and Manners, rather

rather ſtumbled on by Fortune, than choſen by certainty. You ſee how it is to the Realm moſt *Honourable*, and to her Grace moſt allowable, not to deſpiſe and contemn, or to reckon inferiour to any other Country men, thoſe which her own Region and Country bringeth up. Ye ſee that *Strength*, which Foreign Princes bring, is rather a Weakning than a Strengthening, rather to be ſuſpected than truſted. Ye ſee alſo, that the Stranger ever is like to have, and alſo more like to impoveriſh, than to enrich the Realm: And that the Realm it ſelf by good Government, both is able enough to enrich the Princes thereof, and hath enriched them, when they have been contented alone with it, rather than when they have ſought, and gotten great Augmentations of other Countries. Which things if you will weigh in a juſt Pair of Ballances, without being affected ſo much, as you are, to Strangers, I do not doubt but ye will condeſcend now at the laſt to my Opinion and Judgment, and think as ever I have thought, that for all Purpoſes, it were better for the Queens Majeſty, if it could ſtand with her Pleaſure to Marry an *Engliſh* man, than any other Stranger whatſoever he be.

NAY,

NAY, ſaid he, whom they called Mr. Godfather, ſtammering after his manner, ſpeak to me, Man, that am indifferent, never ſpeak to him. For ye are not ſo far in with *England* and *Engliſh* men, as he is with Strangers; or to this our Hoſt here. Let him give judgment. For he hath been attentive enough; I am ſure he hath born away all that hath been ſpoken. Come on, quoth he to me, what ſay you to the Matter? Mary quoth I, it were a Preſumption indeed to ſpeak before my Prince, without Commiſſion. I truſt her Highneſs ſhortly will give ſentence her ſelf: and not with Words, but with Deeds, ſhew who took the better Part to the great Contentation of us all. But yonder hath one ſtood a good while to call us to Supper. I have cauſed him to ſtay whilſt all were ended. Why is it Supper time ſo ſoon, quoth one of them; it may be ſo by the Day, but methought the Time was very ſhort. So it appeared to me, quoth I; But Supper tarrieth for you. Well, we muſt obey our Hoſt, ſaid they: and ſo walked in fair and ſoftly, jeſting one with another at their new Names.

NUM.

NUM. IV.

To the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty.

The Humble Petition of Thomas Smith, *Eſquire*; *Uncle and Heir of* Edward Smith, *Eſquire*, *deceaſed*; *Son and Heir of Sir* William Smith *the Younger*; *and Heir of Sir* William Smith *the Elder*; *who was Nephew and Heir of Sir* Thomas Smith *Kt. deceaſed*; Sheweth,

THAT the ſaid Sir *Thomas Smith*, the Petitioner's Anceſtor, had the Honour to ſerve as Secretary of State, to your Majeſty's moſt Noble Progenitor Queen *Elizabeth* of happy Memory, and ſerved her in that Employment faithfully many Years. And in the Thirteenth year of her Reign, the ſaid late Queen did make a Grant, by Letters Patents under the great Seal, to the ſaid Sir *Thomas Smith*, and *Thomas* his then Son, and Heir Apparent, of divers Mannors, Caſtles and Lands thereto belonging, in the County of *Downe* in the Realm of *Ireland*: Which were then poſſeſt by divers Perſons, who were in actual Rebellion againſt her Highneſs, with Command, that the ſaid Sir *Thomas Smith* ſhould enter upon the Parts infeſted by the ſaid Rebels, and by Force of Arms obtain the ſame from them.

And

And the ſaid Sir *Thomas Smith* did at his great Charge raiſe an Army, and entred thoſe Parts, and gained them unto their due Obedience. In which ſaid Service the ſaid *Thomas*, his Son, was ſlain. And then the ſaid Sir *Thomas Smith*, Aſſigned the ſaid Sir *William Smith* his Nephew, to take the Charge of Proſecution of that War, and came over to *England* to attend the further Service of her Majeſty, and to Solicite her Majeſty, that the Lands might be Surveyed, and the Rents aſcertained, and his Grant and Title perfected. And her Majeſty taking Notice of ſuch the great Service of the ſaid Sir *Thomas Smith*, was pleaſed ſeveral Times graciouſly to declare, that her Royal Intentions to the ſaid Sir *Thomas Smith* ſhould be made good. But by reaſon of the many great Troubles falling out in her Time, the ſame was not done during all the time of her Reign.

And afterwards the ſaid Sir *William Smith* the Elder was commanded by the ſaid Queen upon Service into *Spain*, And upon his departure out of *England*, he deſired Sir *James Hamilton*, Kt. to proſecute his ſaid Grant on the ſaid Sir *William*'s behalf, and procure the ſame for him. And the ſaid Sir *James Hamilton* in the Time of your Noble Grandfather King *James*, upon ſome undue pretences, contrary to the Truſt in him repoſed by the ſaid Sir *William Smith*, obtained the ſaid Lands to be granted to himſelf, upon Pretence of a Valuable Conſideration paid;

paid; which, in truth, was never paid. But, in truth, according to the Intention of the late Queen, the ſaid Lands are the Right of your Petitioner.

That Sir *William Smith* died about Fourty years ſince; and Sir *William*, his Son and Heir ſince dyed, and left his Son and Heir, an Infant of two years old; And until he came at Age, nothing could be done. And the troubleſome times happening ſince his Death, the Petitioner and his Anceſtors have ſit down by the Loſs. Yet your Petitioner hopeth that that long Diſcontinuance ſhall not be a Bar to his juſt Right:

But humbly prayeth your Majeſty to cauſe an Examination of the Premiſſes to be made, and Certified to your Majeſty; and then the Petitioner hopes, that when the Truth of the Fact ſhall appear, your Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to do therein, for the Petitioners Relief, what ſhall be agreable to Juſtice. And yout Petitioner ſhall, *&c.*

At the Court at Whitehal 14 Nov. 1660.

His Majeſty is pleaſed to refer this Petition to the Right Honourable Sir *Maurice Euſtace*, Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*. Who having examined and conſidered the Contents and Allegations of this Petition, is to certifie his Majeſty how he findeth the ſame, and

and what his Lordſhip conceiveth to be juſt and fit for his Majeſty to do therein, and then his Majeſty will declare his further Pleaſure.

Edw. Nicholas.

Sir Maurice Euſtace *his Certificate.*

It may pleaſe your Excellent Majeſty,

I have, according to your Majeſty's gracious Reference, conſidered the Petition of *Thomas Smith*, Eſquire: And conſidering that the Petitioner doth ground his Title upon a *Patent* made 13. *Eliz.* unto his Anceſtors, and that the ſaid Title hath been very much controverted, and the Poſſeſſion gone for a long Time againſt the *Petitioner*, and ſome Deſcents laſt; I humbly conceive that it is neither fit, nor convenient for your Majeſty to determine this Cauſe upon a *Paper* petition. But your Majeſty, in regard your Courts of Juſtice in *Ireland* will be ſoon open, may be pleaſed to leave all *Parties* pretending Intereſt to the ſaid Lands to your Majeſty's Courts of Juſtice, in that your Kingdom, to be proceeded in as they ſhall be adviſed by their Counſel. And the rather for that the Earl of *Clanbrazil*, who is intereſted in the ſaid Lands by Deſcent from his Father, is a *Minor*, and under Years, and cannot be concluded by any Order, which can be made againſt him,

him, during his Monority. All which is humbly ſubmitted to your Majeſty's Judgment.

Maurice Euſtace, Canc.

NUM. V.

Sir Thomas Smith's *Tables of Mony. And for the reducing the* Roman *Monies to the* Engliſh *Standard.*

TABLE. I.

In the Pound Weight of Silver there is, of current Monies,

	Shil.	Groats. Current.	Pence.	
20 d.	20	60	240	[a] *This* Buda. *us maketh the* Roman *Standard, adding to it half an Ou.*
2 ſh.	24	72	284	
2 ſh. 8 d.	32	96	384	
2 ſh. 9 d. q.				
At ½ of a q. Ounce.	33 4 d.	100	[b] 400	*b This I take to be the* Roman *Stand.*
3 ſh.	36	108	432	
3 ſh. 4 d.	40	120	480	
3 ſh. 8 d.	44	132	528	
4 ſh.	48	144	576	
5 ſh.	60	180	[c] 720	[c] *The Standard 1568. Reg. Eliz. 9.*

TA-

TABLE VIII.

The Mark containeth.

The Ounce at 20 d.

Shill.	Groats.	Pence.
13 4	40	160

The Ounce at 2 ſh.

16	48	192

The Ounce at 2 ſh. 8 d.

21 4	64	256

The Ounce at 3 ſh.

24	72	288

The Oounce at 3 ſh. 4 d.

26 8	80	320

TABLE IX.

Twenty Engliſh *Pence of the Standard make one Ounce. Twelve Ounces make the* Engliſh *Pound Sterling, at* 11 *Ounces Silver, and one Ounce Allay.*

The Pound Containeth.

The Ounce at 20.

Shill.	Groats.	Pence.
20	60	240

The Ounce at 2—8

a 32	96	484

The Once at 3 ſh.

36	108	432

The Ounce at 3—4

40	120	480

The Ounce at 3—8

44	132	528

The Ounce at 4 ſh.

48	144	536

The Ounce at 5 ſh.

60	180	720

a This is next to the *Roman* Supputation.

Then Follows a Diſcourſe for demonſtrating the Reduction of the Roman *Coins to our Money*

TO Eſteem theſe by the Coins of *England* which I have. I have an old *Edward* Groat, whether the *Third* or *Fourth* I know not. This Groat weigheth 8 d. ob. of the Standard, which is Current (1561. *Viz.*) at 5 *s.* the Ounce. Whereby it appeareth, that then the Monies went at 2 s. 4 *d.* q. the Ounce. The Pound then contained,

Shill.	Groats	Pence.
21—3	$84\frac{3}{4}$	339

I have alſo two *Roman Denarii*: the one intitled *Lucius Valerius Flaccus*; the other *Marcus Herennius*. On the one ſide *Æneas* is pictured carying his Father; on the other ſide *Pietas*, with the Face of *Herennius*. But each of them be too light for the Groat of King *Edward*. And theſe two *Denarii* weigh juſt the *Aureum* or *Didrachma* of Gold, which was coined in the Time of *Tiberius Claudius*: Which hath on the one ſide his Image with the Titles: On the other ſide a Triumphal Arch written upon it *De Britannia*. Which was found on the Windmil Hill at *Walden* about 1535. and brought to me a Scholar in *Cambridge* all black: and it weigheth juſt the old *Rial*, called *The Noble of the Roſe*; Which

Which is the Angel, and the half Angel, and is as fine Gold. So that it doth agree with thoſe Coins of Gold, whereupon *Budæus* maketh his Eſtimation.

And if an hundred of thoſe *Denarii* made a juſt pound of the *Romans*, as *Budæus* doth plainly gather, and as it doth appear by all Authors, then the Money was at eight *Denarii* or Groats, and one $\frac{1}{2}$ of *Denarius*. And ſo if we count after our Money, the 2*s*.9*d*.q.$\frac{3}{5}$ of that Standard maketh an Ounce. And ſo the Pound then contained

Shill.	Groats or *Denarii*.	Pence.
33—4*d*.	100	400 of that Stand.

Whereby it doth appear, that the Standard in that King *Edward*'s Time, whoſe Groat I have, was of more value and Weight than than the *Roman* Standard; yea before the Emperor did abaſe it.

I have alſo divers Pence; but they ſeem to be elder. For three of the Pence titled *Edwards*, with two *Edward* Half pence weigheth more than that *Edward* Groat by half one of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Pence. Wherefore I take his Pence to be of ſome elder *Edward*, either the *Third*, *Second*, or the *Firſt*, and not of that *Edward* whoſe I have. Of which I have alſo another gueſs. For they do name him only *Rex Angliæ Dns Hyberniæ* where the Groat hath *Rex Angliæ, Franciæ, & Dns Hyberniæ*. And as I remember I have read that *Edward* III. or elſe the IV. was the firſt coined Groats, where before they

uſed all Pence, and no bigger Coin of Silver: As now the Turk coineth only *Aſpers*, much of the Value of our elder Peny.

And by theſe Accounts it appeareth, that *Tuſtal* muſt be civilly underſtood in his Addition to his Book *de Arte Supputandi*: Where he ſaith, that the *Roman* Pound is double to Ours: For, by all Accounts, both the Ounce, and alſo the Pound, is all one. For ſix *Aurei Solidi*, or *Sextulæ*, made an Ounce to the *Romans*; and ſo do to us ſix Angels. IV *Aurei didrachmales* made an Ounce; and ſo do to us IV Rials. Which be both in Fineneſs of Gold, and alſo in Weight all one with the *Roman* Coins. And then XII Ounces made the *Roman* pound: And ſo it doth to us in all Supputation of Money. Wherefore he muſt not be ſimply taken; that ſimply the *Roman* Pound was double to our Engliſh pound-weight: For without fail they were all one. Yet I muſt needs note, that *Budæus* maketh *Minam*, or *Libram nummariam*, to contain XII Ounces, and half Oun. and maketh his Supputation at VIII *Denarii*, *Drachmæ*, or Groats the Ounce: And ſo at 2 ſh. 8 d. the Ounce, as it is afore at XII Ounces, the Pound containeth

Shill.	*Groats*	*Pence*
32	96	384
Putting to the half Ounce it maketh		
32-4d.	100	400

Mary, *Budee*, to make the *French* Groſs *Franks* and *Deniers*, to agree with the *Roman* Pound, is put ſometimes to hard ſhifts.

But

But howſoever it be, whether the *Roman Denariue* was to be accounted, as I do account it at 8 ⅓ to the Ounce, or at 8 *Denarii*, or Groats, to the Ounce, and then the *Roman* pound to have one half Onnce more than XII Ounces; yet when *Touſtal* wrote, by no Eſtimation their Pound can be double to ours. For he wrote about the 12th. or 16th. year of K. *Henry* VIII. and then the Standard was, as may appear by his Supputation, of the Crown of the Sun, which is 3 ſh. 4 d. and at that Account thoſe Groats could not be the one half in proportion, neither to the Monies of 2 ſh. 8 d. and at that Account thoſe Groats could not be one half in proportion, neither to the Monies of 2ſh. 8d, as *Budæus* doth account, neither of 2ſh. 9d. q. ⅓, of our Farthing, as I do account. But troth it is, that at 3ſh. 4d. the Ounce, 40ſh. of our Current Money maketh the *Engliſh* pound-weight, and alſo the *Roman* pound-weight. And thereby it appeareth, that the 20ſh. at the firſt Coin of *England* weighed double ſo much, as then at 3ſh. 4d. the Ounce it did. And ſo our firſt *Engliſh* oun d is double to that in Weight, which was then called in payment the *Engliſh Pound*, and treble to that which is now current. But the *Roman* Pound and *Denarii* were in proportion to that Current Money in the Time of *Touſtal*, as 120 is to an 100, or 6 to 5, which is called *Seſqui quinta*. And it is to our current Money now, I mean the *Denarius* to our Groat, and the *Seſtertius* to our Peny, as 18 to 10, or 9 to 5, which is called

Seſqui quadripartiens quintas. And ſo the *Roman Denarius* containeth of our Money now current 7d. $\frac{2}{3}$, and one Half-peny, and which by the old and firſt Sterling of Groats, the Groat weigheth juſt 12 d. of our current Money, *An.* 1561.

Wherefore leaving all other Altercation and Variety apart, I do take to be moſt ſure which *Budæe* with exceeding Labour, and no leſs Wit, than Diligence hath found out, that the *Roman Denarius*, and the *Athenian Drachma* was in the better Worlds, and when the ſureſt Supputation is to be made, all one. And that the Coin called *Aureus*, and ſometimes *Philippei*, or other Names, weighed juſt two *Denarii*, or *Drachmæ*, and ſo four made the Ounce, and twelve of thoſe Ounces made the Pound, ſo that it is more than manifeſt, that the *Roman* pound, and the *Engliſh* Pound called *Troy Weight*, or the Pound of Silver, or the Goldſmiths Pound, was, and is, all one with the *Roman* pound. Wherein we have to glory, that our Nation hath reſerved that Antiquity more than any other that I know. For they follow all the Pound of Eight Ounces, which is called the *Mark*, which I think was brought into this Realm firſt by *William* the *Norman*. For I have certain Coins of *Etheldred*, or other before the Conqueſt, whoſe Silver altho it appeareth not ſo good, yet the Weight goeth near to the old Rate of the *Engliſh* Peny.

TABLE

TABLE XI.

For Weighing Monies of Gold, current in Sir Thomas Smith's *Time.*

IN this manner following you may weigh all manner of Gold, what Coin ſoever it be, with theſe kind of Weights, which are called *Pence* and *Grains*, that is, with ſix Pence, and four and twenty Grains. The 24 Grains weigh one Peny, and the 24 Pence weigh one Ounce.

Firſt, the Roſe Noble, — — —	6 *d.*
The Half Noble, — — —	3 *d.*
The Quarter of a Noble, — —	1 *d.* 12*gr.*
The *Henries* Noble, the *Flanders* Noble, and the double Ducket of *Italy*.	5 *d.* 8*gr.*
The double Ducket of *Spain*.	5 *d.* 12*gr.*
The half Real, the Ducket of *Spain*, and the Ducket of *Portugal* and *Hungary*, and the *Flanders* Rider.	2 *d.* 18*gr.*
The half Ducket of *Italy*, the *French* Crown, the *Salute*, and the *Flanders* Crown.	2 *d.* 16*gr.*
The old *Engliſh* Crown. — — —	2 *d.* 8 *gr.*
The Real, — — — —	4 *d.* 4 *gr.*
The Soveraign, — — — —	4 *d.* 16*gr.*
The *Karolus* Gilden, — — —	2 *d.* 8 *gr.*
The *Andrews* Gilden, and the *Philips* Gild	2 *d.* 14*gr.*
The Angel, — — —	4 *d.*
The half Angel. — — —	2 *d.*
The Golden Lion, — — —	3 *d.* 6*gr.*
The *Cornoſters* Gilden. — —	2 *d.* 13*gr.*

And all the Gold that is not here named, and Current, and valued, may with theſe Weights be weighed.

NUM. VI.

Sir Thomas Smith's *Library*, Aug. 1. 1566. *In his Gallery at* Hilhal.

THEOLOGICI.

OMnia Opera *Auguſtini* in X. Vol.
Chryſoſtomi Opera Latine in V. Vol.
Origenis Pars prima
Origenis Pars ſecunda
Ambroſii Opera Vol. I.
Bedæ Opera Vol I.
Χρυσόστομος εἰς ὅλην τὰς Παῦλας Vol. II.
Οἰκουμένιος. Vol I.
Lutheri Opera To. III.
Eraſmi Opera To. IX.
Bucerus in *Paulum*
Eccleſiaſtica Hiſtoria Tripartita
Galatinus
Biblia *Caſtalionis*
Nicephori Hiſtoria V. I.
Felinus in Pſalmos
Clementis Stromata
Pſalterium quintuplex
Concordantiæ Biblior.
Biblia *Toſtana*
Biblia ex *Francois*
Catalogus Teſtium Veritatis contra Papam
Poſtellus de Orbis Concordia
Harmonia Evangelica
Biblia Hebraica Vol. II.
Mahomet Vol. I.
Proverbia *Salom.* Hebr.
Maſes Latinus
Pet. Martyr in Lib. Jud.
Hieremias Hebr.
Conference de la Meſ.
Μαξίμου Τυείου.
Θεμιστίου φιλοσόφου.
Differentia Reg. Poteſt. & Eccleſiaſt.
Proverbes du *Solomon*
Satire Papale
Apologie de L' Egliſe D' Angleterre
De faux Prophetes
Les Epiſtres *Guevarre*
Prediche di *Bernard Ochin* Vol. II.
Ἡ καινὴ Διαθήκη.
Proverb. Salom Hebr.
Flores Theologici
Ἡ παλαιὰ Διαθήκη.
Reſolutiones *Bullingois*
Cent Sermons ſur L' Apocalypſe
Malleus Maleficarum

K. *Hen-*

K. *Henry* VIII. Book
Reſponſe de Ro. Preſtiene
Diſputatio *Oxon.* de Sacramento
De Monde a L'Empire
Caſſander de Miſſa
Paradoxa *Lamberti*
Commentarii di Pſal.
Euſebius captivus
Ordonances de l'Egliſe de *Geneve.*

JURIS CIVILIS.

Pandectæ grand. V.III.
Novellæ Conſtitutiones Vol. I.
Codex Vo. I.
Repertorium *Bertachini* Vol. III.
Lanindwood
Compendium Jur. Civilis Corani Vol.II.
Proceſſus Juris
Decreta
Decretalia
Sextus cum Clementinis
De maleficiis, & Poemis, & Praxis crim. perſequent.
Pandectæ in 4. Vol.V.
Conſuetudines in 4to.
Inſtituta, in 4to.
Alciati Opera
Zazius de Act.& Exc.
Mainerii de Reg. Juris
Speculum Juris Vo.III.
Ars Notariatus
Divus & *Decius*
Inſtituta Θεοφίλου.
Bellonus & Canciuncala
Codex *Theodoſii*
Πεῖρες & νόμων.
Practica *Baldi* & *Lanfrancus*
Paris de Puteo de Duello
Silva nup. & Parerg. *Alciati*
Praxis *Alciati*
Les Inſtitutions Impe.
Axiomata Legum
Præſumptiones *Alciat.*
XII. Tabulæ
Codex in Octavo
Digeſt. vet. in Octavo
Decretal in Octavo
Pragmatic. Sanct.
Militiæ forenſis
Les Statutes de Proven.
Fitz. Herberts Abridgments Vol.II.
Years and Terms of *Henry* VI.
Years and Terms of *Edw.* III.
Statutes of *Ed.* & *Mar.*

Les

Les pleas de la Corone
Natura Brevium, *F. He.*
Thabridge of the Acts
Briton
Justices of Peace
Parkyns
Natura Brevium
Littleton's Tenures
Glanvile
Old Abridgment of Statutes
Magna Charta

HISTORIORAPHI.

Ἡρόδοτος. Θουκιδίδης. Ξενοφών. Vol. I.
Εὐσέβιος ἐκκλησιαστική.
Φλαβίου Ἰωσίππου.
Titus Livius
Suetonius
Antonius Sabell. V.II.
Albert. Crantzii, Danica, Suevica, Norvegica.
Cornel. Tacitus
Παράλληλα Πλουτάρχου.
Witichindus, Luitprandus & *Æneas Silvius*
Pirrhy Piacii de Reb. *Trident.*
Dionysii Halicarnasses
Annales *Bojorum*
Nebressensis Hisp.
Cromeri Polon. Hist.
Olaus Magnus de Gentib. Septen.
Paulus Æmilius
Polydore Virgil
Chronica di *Genoa* & *Florent.*
Annales Genealog.
Chronia de Nismes & Armories des Conest.
Platina de Vitis Pontif.
Chronica Phrigionis
Στράβων, Στέφανος, Παυσανίας.
Histoire Ecclesiastique Vol. II.
Paulus Æmilius, & Ferronus de Regib. *Gallor.*
Les Annales de *France*, & *Philippes Comming*
Description d' *Affrique*
Fasti & Triumphi *Romani*
Les Annales de *France*
Les Annales de *Bretaig.*
Les Annales d' *Aquitaigne.*
Commentaria rerum *Flandricarum*
De Migrationib. Gentium
Plutarchus de Vitis

Anna-

AnnalesGenealogiques
Boccalii Genealogiæ Deorum
Beda & *Saxo* Gram.
Ἀππιάνου Ῥωμαϊκά.
Terræ Sanctæ Descriptio
Gaguinus.
Por tenta & Prodigia
Solinus
Διώδωρος ὁ Σικελώτης.
Διονύσιος ὁ Ἁλικαρνασσεύς.
Nicetas Choniates
Paradini Continuation des Temp.
Petri Bembi Historia *Veneta*
Historia di *Giovanni Villani*
Chroniques de *Savoie*
Appiani Alexandrini de Bellis Civilibus
Thucididis en *Francois*
Cosmographia *Ptolomæi*
Discourse de guerres Civiles
Asia di Barros
Hall's Chronicles
Fabian's Chronicles
Bavaria; Insubres. *Carolus* V.
Volaterranus
Strabo
Blondus
Herodito, & il Principe di *Machiavelli*
Quinte Curse
Munsteri Cosmographia
Silva de varia Lection, & *Justino* Historiad.
Lucius Florus
Notitia utraque Or. & Occid.
Harding
Suetonius
Historie di *Guazzo* Vol. II.
Di *Nicolao Leonico* Varie Historie
Ἀππιάνου Ἰβερικᾶ καὶ Ἀννιβαλικά.
Olai Magni *Suetica*
Les Chroniques des Rois De *France*
Ludov. d' *Avila* de Bello *German*
Justinus Hist.
XII. Vicecomites *Pauli Jovii*
Appiano di guerre Civile
Johan. Major de Hist. *Scotorum*
Paulo Jovio
Leo Arretinus, de Bello *Gothorum*

Capel-

Capella de bello pro restit. *Francisci* II. Ducis *Mediolan.*
Vita di *Leone*, *Adriano* pontif. & Car. Colon.
Salust. & Q. *Curtius*
The Decades of *P. Martyr.*
Commentaria *Cæsaris*
Historie *Fiorentine* di *Machiavel*
Discorsi di *Machiavelli*
Γεογραφικὰ Πτολεμαΐου.
Λαερτίου τῶν βίων φιλοσόφων.
Dione delle guerre di *Romani*
Ammianus Marcellin. & Cisalpinæ *Galliæ* Descriptio
Lambertus de bello *Germanico*
Le Livre de *P.* de *Conde*
Continuation de *Rabatin*
Les Martyrs de *Paris*
La Response du Gentilhomme de *Henalt.*
Expeditio *Tunetana*
Commentar. de L'estat de la Religion. To. primus
Valerius Maximus
La Vita di Ecellino *Romano*
De la Majorite du Roy
Compendio d' Historie de *Naples*
Responsio *Venetorum.*

PHILOSOPHICA.

Ὁ Πλάτων.
Plato Latine
Ἀριστοτέλης. Vol. II.
Politica *Aristot.*
Historia Animalium Aristot.
Ciceronis Vol. II.
Πλουτάρχου Opuscula.
Politianus
Ἀθυμαῖος καὶ Ἡσύχιος.
Gesnerus Quadrupedibus
Πράκλος εἰς Τιμαῖον-
Δημοσθένης.
Alexander Genialium Dierum
Francisci Pici Mirandulæ
Ruellius
Dioscorides
Galenus
Mattheolus super *Dioscorid.*
De Varietate rerum
De Subtilitate
Διοσκορίδης καὶ Νικάνδης.
Galen. de compos. Medicamentorum

Agri-

Agricola de re Metallica
Vulturius de l'art Militaire
Rondeletius de Piſci. Vol. II.
Cato, *Varro* & *Columella*
Jcones Avium
Gentium & Familiarum *Roman.* Stemmata
Macrobius
Lazari Baiſii de re Veſtiaria
Agricolæ Scholia in Therapeuticen.
Philonii Comment in Architectur. *Vitruviii*
Ludo. Vives de Corrup. Diſciplin.
Polydor. de Inventorib. rerum
Cicero de Finib.
Budæus de Aſſe
Rhetorica ad *Hereun.* &c.
De Colorib de Ponderib. de re Veſtiaria
De Divinationum generibus
Rhetorica *Trapezuntii*
Li Notti di Straparola, & ord. di Cavilcare di *Grizoni*
Cornel. Agrippa de occnlt. Philoſoph.
Γεοπονικὰ Κονςαντίνου.
Ἰσοκράτης.
Galeotus de Doctrina promiſcua
Ariſtot. de Arte Rhetorica
Vives de ratione Dicendi
Plinii Epiſt.
Cato, *Varro*, *Columella* de Re ruſtica
La Maiſon Ruſtique
Quintilianus
Galeotus de Homine
Ἐπιςολαὶ Λουκιάνου. α καὶ β.
Topographia antiquæ *Romæ*
Apothegm. *Eraſm.*
Moriæ Encomium
Dialect. *Melaucth.*
Lucianus de Sectis
Dialectica *Cæſarii*
Dialectica *Agricolæ*
Demoſthenis & *Æſchinis*, Plutarch. de *Platon.* Philoſoph.
Agricola de Ponderib. & Menſur.
Dialoges de *Charon*
De Arte Magirica

Anti-

Antiochi Chiromantia, &Convival queſtion
Il Cortegliano
Le Sympoſe du *Platon.*
Le Timee du *Platon.*
Le Cinquieſme de Polit d' *Ariſtot.*
Petri Rami Oratio.

MATHEMATICA.

Alchimia
Euclides & *Archimedes*
Appianus & Aſtronomia *Gebri*
Μεγαλη σύνταξις Πτολεμαῖου
Julius Firmicus, & Compoſitio Aſtrolabii
Cyprianus Leovicius
Ephemerides Stadii
Alphonſi Tabulæ
Haly de Judiciis
Cardanus ſuper Quadriparitum *Ptolomæi*
Guido Bonatus
Schonerus de Nativitatibus
Armilla *Regiomontani*
Prutenicæ Tabulæ
Tabulæ Directionum *Cypr. Leovicii*
Abrah. Judæus, de Nativitate, & IX. Judicum, planiſph. roias
Elcabitius, *&c.*
Liber directionum *Eraſ. Reinholdi*
Aphemerides *Stoflerini*
Coſmographia di *Ptolomæo*
Ephemerides *Simi Cardani*, de Judiciis, *&c.*
Tabulæ direct, *Regiomoutani*
Johann. Pontani in Quadripart. *Ptolomæi*
Copernici Revolutiones
Ephemer. *Stophler.*
Albert. Dur. de Symetria
Horologiogr. *Munſteri*
De le ſtelle fiſſe
Lucas Gauricus
Radius *Gemmæ Phryſii*
Regiomont de Triang. & problem.
Aſtronomiæ, & Geometr.
Εἰς τὴν τετράβιβλον Πτολεμαίου
Hiſpalenſis
Tabulæ Berg. *Stadii*
De Prædictione Aſtronom.
L. *Vitruv.* di Architect.

L' Ar-

L' Architecture de *Vitruve*
Le *Vitruvio*
Vitruvius de Architectura
Lib X. *Euclidis*
The Art of Navigation
Supputationes *Tonstalli*
Algebra
Arithmetica de *Pietro Borgi*
Paraphrase d'Astrolabe

MEDICA & CHIRURGICA.

Galenus
Ruellius
Matthe. super *Dioscor.*
Dioscorides Græce
Galen. de composit. Medicam
Institutiones Chirurg.
Guido
Is. de Vigo
Actuarius
Euonymii Thesaurus
Method Medendi
Fuschius
Scholia in Therapeucen *Gal.*
Cornel. Celsus
Alexis
Galenus de Aliment. facultat.
La Mareschallerie di *Laurent Ruse*
L' Art veterinarie du *Jean Mass.* & *Vigetii*
Le Perquirie du *Grison* & *Ruse*
Hippiatria *Laur. Ruse*

GRAMMATICA & POETICA.

Nizolius
Συΐδας.
Φαβωρῖνος.
Diction. Latinogallic.
Com. *Budæi*
Grammat. *Theod. Gazæ*
Calepinus
Dictionar. *Italic.*
Ὁμῆρος.
Dantes
Petrarcha
Λέξικον Græc.
Il Meschino
Fabulæ *Æsopi*
Epist. *Æneæ Silvi*
Grammat. *Despauter*
Εὐριπίδου. α καὶ β.
Πινδάρου.
Grammatica *Heliæ*
Statius
Aristophanes
Conciones *Livii*
Sophocles cum Com.
Plautus

Dictio-

Dictionar. *Hebraic.*
Copia Verbor. *Erasm.*
Aulus Gellius
Horatius
Diomedes & *Donatus*
Θωμᾶ μαγίστρου.
Erasm. de Pronunciat.
Θεογονία Ἡσιόδου, καὶ γνωμικά.
Grammat. *Aldi*
Il *Petrarcha* cum Com.
Willichius in artem Poeticam
Munster Gram. Hebr.
Viridarium Poetarum
Picolomino d' Institut. d' huomo nato
Σοφοκλῆς.
Epitome adag. *Erasm.*
Aphthonius
Il *Filocopo Boccasiii*
Διονυσίου κοσμογραφ.
Θεόκριτος.
Di *Pet*, *Aretino* Comed.
Comœdia *Celestina*
Ἰλιάς.
Joachim de *Bellay*
Miscellanea *Nanii*
Ἰούλιος πολυδεύκης.
Ἑρμογένης.
Theatre de *Jaques Grevin*
Tragœdia de Franc. Arbitre
Defense des Dames
Jaques Pelcher de pronuntiatione Linguæ *Gallicæ*
Petr. Ramus de morib. Veter. *Gallorum*
Erotemata Liguæ *Hebraicæ.*

THE CONTENTS OF THE APPENDIX.

NUM. I.

THE *Patent granted by* BARKER, *Garter King at Arms, to* John Smith *Gent. Father to Sir* Thomas Smith, *for his Coat of Arms.* Page 1.

NUM. II.

Sir THOMAS SMITH's *new Engliſh Alphabet.* p. 5.

The Contents of

NUM. III.

Sir THOMAS SMITH's *Orations, for and against the Queen's Marriage.* p. 7.

1. Agamus, *or* Wedſpite, *his Oration for the Queen's ſingle Life.* Ibid.

2. Philoxenius, *or* Lovealien, *his Oration for the Queen's Marrying.* p. 26.

3. Philoxenius, *or* Lovealien, *his ſecond Oration for the Queen's Marrying with a Stranger.* p. 69.

4. Axenius, *or* Home-Friend, *his Oration for the Queen's Majeſties Marrying with an Engliſh Nobleman, rather than any Foreign Prince.* p. 81.

The Petition of Thomas Smith *Eſq;* Anno Dom. 1660. *to K.* CHARLES II. *for the Reſtoration of the Country of the* Ardes *in* Ireland, *belonging of right to his Anceſtor Sir* Thomas Smith. p. 124.

NUM. V.

Sir Thomas Smith's *Tables of Money: And for the reducing of the* Roman *Monies to the* Engliſh *Standard.* p. 128.

TAB

the *APPENDIX.*

TABLE I.

In the pound VVeight of Silver, how much Current Monies. Ibid.

TAB. II.

VVhen the Standard Money is at 20 *d. the Ounce.* Ibid.

TAB. VIII.

When 15 *Groats, or* 5 *Shillings. make the Ounce.* Ibid.

TAB. IX.

How much the Mark *containeth.* p. 129.

TAB. X.

How much the Pound *containeth.* Ibid.

TAB. XI.

How much the Ounce and ſmaller VVeights contain of Monies. p. 130.

A Diſcourſe for demonſtrating the Reduction of the Roman *Coin to our Money.* Ibid.

TAB.

TAB. XII.

For weighing Moneys of Gold, Current in Sir THOMAS SMITH's *time.* p. 137.

NUM. VI.

Sir THOMAS SMITH's *Library*, Aug. 1, 1566, *in his Gallery at* Hilhal. p. 139.

The Reader is desired to take Notice, That Tab. 7. is mis-printed for Tab. 8. and Tab. 8. for Tab. 9. and so to the end of these Tables.

FINIS.

Table II.

When the Standard Mony is at 20^{d} $\overset{c}{v}$ Ounce.

		Groats	Pence	Halfpence	Farthings	Grains Fr.	Grains En	
Δωδεκατημόριον Uncia		5	20	40	80	576	640	
Semuncia	1/2	2 1/2	10	20	40	288	320	1/2
Duella	1/3	1 2/3	6 1/3	13 1/3	26 2/3	192	213 1/3	1/3
Siliquus Didrachmum	1/4	1 1/4	5	10	20	144	160	1/4
	1/5							
Sextula Ae Angel	1/6							
	1/7							
Denarius Rom Drachma Half Real	1/8							
	1/9							
	1/10							
	1/11							
Half Angel	1/12							

There is a Third Table when 7 Groats (viz) $\overset{s}{2}\ \overset{d}{4}$ made the Ounce Shewing howmany Pence Halfpence Farthings and 2 were required to make each Peice accord with the Roman Semuncia Duella Siciliicus Regalis Denarius primus Sextula Angelatus Denarius secundus Drachma Scrupulus Obolus.

A fourth Table when 8 Groats (viz) $\overset{s}{2}\ 8^{d}$ made $\overset{c}{v}$ Ounce

A fifth when 10 Gr: (viz) $\overset{s}{3}\ 4^{d}$ made $\overset{c}{v}$ Ounce.

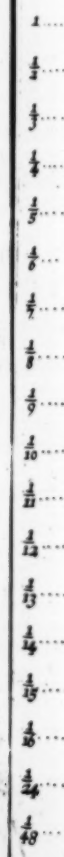
A sixt when 5 Gr: (viz) $2^{s}\ 6^{d}$ made $\overset{c}{v}$ Ounce.

A seventh w.^{n} 8 Gr: 1/3 or $\overset{s}{2}\ 0^{d}\ q_{3}\ 1/3$ made $\overset{c}{v}$ Ounce.

An eight w.^{n} 15 Gr: or $\overset{s}{3}^{d}$ make the Ounce.

All which Tables I will pass over and set down only the last becausse that is the present Standard at this day.

Sterling Peny	1/20	Unciæ
Scrupulus vel Denarius Gallic	1/24	Unciæ; 1/2 Drchm
Obolus	1/48	Unciæ; 1/2 Scrup.; 1/6 Drachm
Semiobolus	1/2 Obol	1/12 Drachm.; 1/96 Unciæ
Ceratium		1/20 Drachm.; 1/160 Unciæ



UMI

Table VII.

Apend. P. 128 No. 2.

When 15 Groats or 5 Shillings make the Ounce.

	Groats.	Pence.	Ob.	q.	q.	c.	
1	15	60	120	240	480	960	Uncia.
$\frac{1}{2}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$	30	60	120	240	480	Semuncia.
$\frac{1}{3}$	5	20	40	80	160	320	Duella.
$\frac{1}{4}$	$3\frac{3}{4}$	15	30	60	120	240	Sicilicus.
$\frac{1}{5}$	3	12	24	48	96	192	Denar. Ro. primus.
$\frac{1}{6}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$	10	20	40	80	160	Sextula.
$\frac{1}{7}$	$2\frac{1}{7}$	$8\frac{4}{7}$	$17\frac{1}{7}$	$34\frac{2}{7}$	$68\frac{4}{7}$	$137\frac{1}{7}$	Denarius Ro. secundus
$\frac{1}{8}$	$1\frac{7}{8}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$	15	30	60	112	Drachma Denar. tert.
$\frac{1}{9}$	$1\frac{6}{9}$	$6\frac{2}{3}$	$13\frac{1}{3}$	$26\frac{2}{3}$	$53\frac{1}{3}$	$106\frac{2}{3}$	
$\frac{1}{10}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	6	12	24	48	96	
$\frac{1}{11}$	$1\frac{6}{11}$	$5\frac{5}{11}$	$10\frac{10}{11}$	$21\frac{10}{11}$	$43\frac{7}{11}$	$87\frac{3}{11}$	
$\frac{1}{12}$	$1\frac{1}{4}$	5	10	20	40	80	
$\frac{1}{13}$	$1\frac{2}{13}$	$4\frac{8}{13}$	$9\frac{3}{13}$	$18\frac{6}{13}$	$36\frac{12}{13}$	$73\frac{11}{13}$	
$\frac{1}{14}$	$1\frac{1}{14}$	$4\frac{2}{7}$	$8\frac{4}{7}$	$17\frac{1}{7}$	$34\frac{2}{7}$	$68\frac{4}{7}$	
$\frac{1}{15}$	1	4	8	16	32	64	
$\frac{1}{16}$	0	$3\frac{3}{4}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$	15	30	60	
$\frac{1}{24}$	0	$2\frac{1}{2}$	5	10	20	40	Scrupulus.
$\frac{1}{48}$	0	$1\frac{1}{3}$	$2\frac{2}{3}$	$5\frac{1}{3}$	$10\frac{2}{3}$	$21\frac{1}{3}$	Obolus.

Num. II.

Sr Thomas Smiths new Engliſh Alphabet.

omen.	Poteſtas.	Exemplum.
a.	A short.	Man. Hat.
ā a-	A long.	Mân, i.e. Maine. Hāt. i.e. Hate.
b.	Be.	
c.	Ch Tch final.	Ceri, i.e. Chery. Mac, i.e. Match.
d.	De.	
ð Δ Đ.	Δe i.e. Th.	Δou, i.e. Thou. Bað. i.e. Bath.
e.	Ê short.	Led. Bred. Hel.
ē ĕe-	Ê long.	Lēd i.e. Lead. Brêd i.e. Bread. He-l. i.e. Heal.
ë.	Ê ênglish.	Brëd. i.e. Breed. Hël. i.e. Heel.
f.	Êf.	Fil. Strif.
v ∇ F.	Êv.	Vi-l. i.e. Vile. Striv. i.e. Strive.
g.	Ge.	Gaï. Get.
ȝ Ȝ.	Ȝe.	Ȝai. i.e. Iay. Ȝet. i.e. Iet.
h.	Ha.	
i y.	I short.	Hid. Bi. i.e. By.
ī ĭu-	I long.	Hīd. i.e. Hide. Bī. i.e. Buy.
k.	Ka.	Kat. Kac. i.e. Catch.
l.	Êl.	
m.	Êm.	
n.	Ên.	
o	O short.	Hop. Hors. i.e. Horſe.
ō ŏ o.	O long.	Hōp. i.e. Hope. Hōrs. i.e. Hoarse.
p.	Pe.	
q.	Quu.	
r.	Êr.	
s.	Ês.	
z.	Êzed.	Lïz. i.e. Lyes. Di-z. i.e. Dyes.
x.	Êx. i.e. Êsh.	Lex. i.e. Leash. Fix. i.e. Fish.
t.	Te.	
u u.	U short.	Buk. i.e. Buck. Full.
ū ü w̄.	U long.	Bük. i.e. Book. Fül. i.e. Fool.
y ÿ.	υ Greek.	Tru. i.e. True Ru. i.e. Rue. Nÿ i.e. New.
x x.	Êx.	